



NEWS ANALYSIS

**THE WORKERS**

Trade unionists are  
turning on Labour

SECTION TWO

**INDECENT EXPOSURE?**

When one woman's snapshot  
is another man's pornography



Nation stares into its divided soul as killer 'rejoices' but government pledges that the Middle East peace process will continue

## Rabin killing throws Israel into turmoil

PATRICK COCKBURN  
Jerusalem

Israel buries Yitzhak Rabin today, briefly united by the shock of his death but horrified by the depth of the divisions within Israeli society revealed by his assassination.

As Mr Rabin's coffin lay outside the Israeli parliament yesterday, tens of thousands of Israelis filed past to pay their last respects. Utterly unrepentant, Yigal Amir, his 27-year-old assassin, said he had also intended to kill Shimon Peres, the Foreign Minister, who is now the acting prime minister. He said he "received instructions from God to kill Prime Minister Rabin."

Police believe the assassination was probably the work of Amir acting alone, but are unravelling his contacts among the extreme groups of the Israeli religious right. Moshe Shahal, the Police Minister, said the assassin made two previous attempts to get close enough to the Prime Minister to kill him before he finally succeeded at the end of the peace rally in Tel Aviv on Saturday night.

Quiet apart from political shock-waves of Mr Rabin's death - throwing the peace process into confusion - Israel must now stare into a psychological and spiritual abyss that they had long preferred to ignore. Mr Rabin's death was the first ever murder of an Israeli leader by an Israeli. Whether or not Amir acted alone, Israel can no longer disregard the fact that it has an implacable, fundamentalist and anti-democratic force in its midst, which is not foreign, but home-grown.

President Bill Clinton and John Major will be joined many other leaders at the state funeral today, including President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, making his first visit to Israel. King Hussein of Jordan, and Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany. Yasser Arafat, the PLO leader, has decided not to come on the

grounds that his presence might be considered provocative.

Israelis are astonished that the assassin was able to get so close to Mr Rabin despite the presence of 700 security men. There is sure to be a serious row over the failure of security. The police say that Mr Rabin refused to wear a bullet proof vest which might have saved him.

The reasons for the failure of security appear to be that the security men were trained to expect and prevent attacks by Palestinians. Despite repeated threats against Mr Rabin and his

against the right does not last. As a life-long hardliner, Mr Rabin had the credentials to push the peace process, which Mr Peres, long regarded as a moderate, arguably does not.

The 73-year-old Mr Rabin spent 27 years in the Israeli army and was chief-of-staff during Israel's biggest military victory in the Six Day war in 1967. His political career, which led to him becoming prime minister twice, was rooted in his status as Israel's leading military hero.

Many of those waiting to file past his coffin yesterday were religious Jews wearing skullcaps wanting to demonstrate their disapproval of the killing. "My reaction was total embarrassment because I am a religious Jew and I wear a *kippah* (skullcap) and now I know when I walk down the street people are going to look at me like I am a murderer," said Avi Cohen, originally from the United States.

Amir, 27, the assassin, was a law student at Bar-Ilan, a religious university outside Tel Aviv. The son of immigrants from Yemen he had been brought up attending religious schools and had been involved in agitation in favour of the West Bank settlers. He has made no attempt to deny the charge and signed a five-page confession. When told Mr Rabin had died, he said he was happy.

An astonishing aspect of the assassination is that it had been often predicted this year without anybody believing that it could really happen. Settlers near Hebron and other centres of extremism had made clear that they saw Mr Rabin's government as giving up the land which God had given to Israel. They had already proved their potential for violence when Baruch Goldstein killed 29 Palestinians as they worshipped in a mosque last year.

Amir told police interrogators that he believed that it was permissible "to kill anybody who was giving up the land of Israel".

ministers, they did not expect him to die at the hand of a Jew. Israeli security may also have been hampered by over-confidence in their own ability and efficiency which is often lauded by the Israeli press.

Mr Peres and his ministers were quick to assert that the death of Mr Rabin will make no difference to Israeli withdrawal from the towns of the West Bank and the next stage of Palestinian self-rule. Mr Peres could capitalise on the shock of Mr Rabin's death by holding a snap election to take advantage of the confusion in Likud, the main right wing party which is trying desperately to distance itself from its former friends on the religious and nationalist right. A quick election might, however, prove to be a dangerous tactic if the backlash

continues, they did not expect him to die at the hand of a Jew. Israeli security may also have been hampered by over-confidence in their own ability and efficiency which is often lauded by the Israeli press.

Mr Trimbble replied: "I think that's the wrong way to look at it. It's not a question of hacking someone ... This is a matter for the House of Commons. It's a free vote. John Major may have an opinion on it but he's just one out of 652 on an issue like this."

Mr Trimbble said he had not

yet discussed the issue with his parliamentary colleagues. But he added: "My own preference

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Sleaze or integrity?

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If MPs want to continue under suspicion of sleaze then they should say No to Nolan. If they want to mend their confidence, they should vote today to flip their pocket-books open.

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for disclosure. I do think that it's better for the public to know, particularly on matters

like this which affect public confidence in institutions."

But although Mr Trimbble's intervention was a boost for Labour's efforts to swing Tory dissidents behind them, the Opposition is not expecting anything like a full turnout of Ulster Unionist MPs and they will not be whipped in tonight's vote. They are hoping for the support of the three Democratic Unionist Party MPs and for two Social and Democratic Labour Party MPs to turn up for tonight's vote.

John Major, who made it clear last week that he would be supporting the Select Committee report, will not now be voting because he will be at the funeral of Yitzhak Rabin, the assassinated Israeli Prime Minister. But the political impact of this is likely to be cancelled out by Tony Blair, who is also attending the funeral and is not expected to be back in London in time to vote.

One factor which remains in doubt is whether, if the Labour amendment seeking immediate earnings disclosure is defeated, the Opposition will fall in behind an alternative proposal put by Sir Teddy Taylor, and two other Tory MPs, for disclosure to take place after the next general election.

Meanwhile, Barry Porter, Tory MP for Wirral, last night denied any impropriety in his

willingness 14 months ago to enter into an arrangement with a business which approached him to arrange ministerial meetings concerning the Czech Republic.

Mr Porter was approached with the offer by a *Sunday Times* reporter, posing as a businessman.

"At that time this was not unusual and if it had taken place I would have declared it in the Members' Register of Interests," he said.

The approach was revived by the reporter last week and a meeting was arranged for next Tuesday, the day after the vote, at which approaches to ministers would be discussed.

I just want to cry for my country. I fear for the very fabric of our society

DAVID HOROVITZ  
Jerusalem

I was supposed to be interviewing Yitzhak Rabin this morning. At 11.45 I discuss Israel's relations with Diaspora Jewry - and specifically the storm he aroused in the United States a few weeks ago by telling American Jews to butt out of Israel's peace policies and confine themselves to sending money to finance Jewish immigration and absorption.

The row was typical of the man, sparked by his penchant for plain talking, his utter disinclination for hypocritical diplomatic niceties. And those of us who supported Rabin - probably a slight majority of the Israeli public - loved him for that bluntness, that addiction to telling it straight.

But we admired and respected him for much more than that. And today, as we bury our most courageous prime minister, we wonder where our country can go now without him. For Yitzhak Rabin represented the heart of Israel. In his personality and his career were contained both the very essence of our past and all our aspirations for a more normal future. And now, we shiver with uncertainty, numbed by the vacuum at our core.

For three-and-a-half years, after he narrowly won election in June 1992, we watched Rabin gradually come to acknowledge that he really had the chance to secure Israel's future by making peace with the Palestinians and the wider Arab world. When he hesitated, at the White House in September 1993, before accepting Yasser Arafat's outstretched hand, we understood that pause. We hesitated with him. He joked that he had butterflies in his stomach. We shared them. Was this a terrible mistake, trying to build a partnership with a man who for so long had been dedicated to our elimination?

The two years since have demonstrated that, no, this is not a mistake. Only Rabin, surely, could have navigated us along this route. Rabin read the writing on the wall, but refused to be cowed by it. Yes, he said, just days ago, he knew that the screams of "murderer" and "traitor" directed at him by right-wing demonstrators were creating a climate ripe for political assassination. But he insisted, as ever, on leading from the front, insisted that he felt secure in the midst of his people.

For all the pain and the grief, we would feel different if he had been gunned down by a Palestinian. That one of our own people should have done this, should have calmly squeezed the trigger, and now complacently eschews remorse ... I am still shaking as I write these lines. Everybody I know here has been up all night, unable to tear ourselves away from the television screens and the radio. I moved here from England 12 years ago, and now I wonder if the country I came to is still here; I wonder how I can contemplate ever sending my two young sons to fight in the Israeli army for a people that could produce this murderer.

While the analysts speculate about the impact on the peace process and the likely domestic political fallout, I just want to cry for my country. Having lost Rabin, and lost him like this, I fear for the very fabric of our society. If he can be killed, then everything about Israel is vulnerable. All bets are off. Will we disintegrate into anarchy? Can our democracy survive? One thing is certain. We have proved to be our own worst enemies. For 48 years, we have resisted the hostility of our neighbours. Now we ourselves have stopped our own heart from beating.

David Horovitz is managing editor of the *Jerusalem Report* news magazine.

Family support: Leah Rabin, with her son Yuval, mourns beside her husband's coffin which lay in state yesterday outside the Knesset in Jerusalem. Tens of thousands of Israelis filed past to pay their last respects

Photograph: Yannis Behrakis/Reuters



## Unionists may vote with Labour on Nolan

DONALD MACINTYRE  
Political Editor

Ministers and leading Tories fighting against having to reveal the outside income they earn as MPs were faced with a potential setback last night when David Trimble, leader of the Ulster Unionists, said he was in favour of disclosure.

With a dozen or more Tory MPs considering the possibility of supporting disclosure or abstaining in tonight's knife-edge Commons vote on the Nolan recommendations ... Mr Trimble's remarks were the first indication that Unionists could support Labour's bid to force through disclosure.

Mr Trimble said he had not

yet discussed the issue with his parliamentary colleagues. But he added: "My own preference

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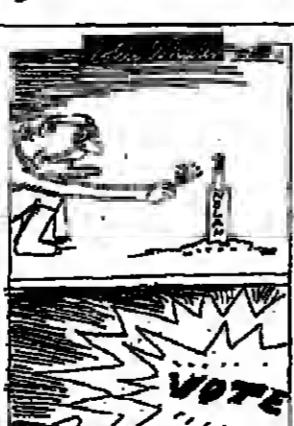
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**IN BRIEF**

**Legalise brothels - vice squads** A third of police vice squads want brothels to be legalised, because they believe they are fighting a losing battle against prostitution, a new study reveals. Almost all those questioned believe the current anti-prostitution laws are outdated, cumbersome and difficult to implement, and there is widespread frustration over soft penalties against kerb-crawlers.

**Railtrack property bid** Railtrack is lobbying for permission to hang on to property development profits after it is privatised next year to make its flotation more attractive to investors. Page 20

**Zero hours' wardens** Hostel wardens who often look after criminals have been offered Burger King-style "zero hours contracts" by the probation service. Page 10



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SPY

## RABIN ASSASSINATION

# World leaders vow to keep peace on track

RUPERT CORNWELL  
Washington and DONALD MACINTYRE

President Bill Clinton and the Prime Minister, John Major, were among world leaders heading to Israel last night to attend Yitzhak Rabin's funeral, with Mr Clinton underlining his determination that the loss of "a martyr for his nation's peace" would not deflect the US from its goal of securing a lasting peace in the Middle East.

As the President left, administration officials emphasised that US policy would not change even though — as former president Jimmy Carter, the architect of the 1978 Camp David accord, put it — the world might have to be "patient" as Israel adjusted to the horror of a shattering act of terrorism mounted not by Arabs, but from within.

The Prime Minister, who will be accompanied by Malcolm Rifkind, the Foreign Secretary, said in terms that were reflected across the political spectrum in Westminster that the best memorial for Rabin would be achievement of the Middle East peace settlement for which he had given his life. Mr Major expressed his great shock and sorrow at Rabin's death, describing him as "a personal friend whom I much admired".

The Queen, who is in New Zealand for the Commonwealth conference and was said to be very shocked by news of the assassination, sent a message of condolence to Israel's President Ezer Weizman, and will be represented by the Prince of Wales at the funeral. Both the Opposition leader, Tony Blair, and Paddy Ashdown, leader of the Liberal Democrats, will also attend.

**DIPLOMACY**

to be very shocked by news of the assassination, sent a message of condolence to Israel's President Ezer Weizman, and will be represented by the Prince of Wales at the funeral. Both the Opposition leader, Tony Blair, and Paddy Ashdown, leader of the Liberal Democrats, will also attend.

Mr Rifkind, who is going ahead with a visit to the Middle East which was to have included a meeting with Rabin on Wednesday, told BBC Radio: "I believe the peace process itself is irreversible and will go forward." He added: "That is likely to be even more the view of the Israeli government and of the Israeli public. I'm sure there will be a great coming together of people in Israel. But it's difficult to exaggerate the significance of the loss of Mr Rabin as an individual, because he commanded such widespread respect and widespread authority."

Mr Blair said he believed the momentum behind the peace process was "unstoppable". Mr Ashdown declared: "It is vital that everyone now acts to keep the peace process on track."

For US policymakers who had worked with Rabin on and off for almost 30 years, the impact was deeply personal as well as political. "I admired him and I loved him very much," Mr Clinton said shortly after the Is-

raeli Prime Minister's death had been confirmed, lamenting the loss of "one of the world's greatest men". Peace must be, the President declared, "and peace will be Mr Rabin's lasting legacy".

The Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, who in less than three years has paid 13 visits to the Middle East in search of the peace agreement he seeks as the seal on his long diplomatic career, was said by aides to be "broken" by the news.

Demonstrating the esteem in which Rabin was held, Mr Clinton will be accompanied by his wife, Hillary, former presidents Carter and George Bush, and an official delegation including Mr Christopher, Bob Dole, the Senate majority leader and Newt Gingrich, the House Speaker, as well as leaders of the Democratic minority in Congress.

Behind its insistence, however, that the peace process was irreversible and would continue, the White House was urgently trying to gauge the damage done. Some drew heart that Rabin's successor — for the time being at least — is his Foreign Minister, Shimon Peres. Unspoken too was relief that Arab extremists were not responsible.

But, they admit, Mr Peres lacks the credentials of Rabin, and cannot provide the cover extended by Rabin's military background and his well-known initial scepticism about peace.



Black day: Israelis waving a black flag as the coffin escorting Yitzhak Rabin's body passes near the town of Mavaseret on the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem highway. Photograph: Jerome Delay/AP

## British Jews united in anger and sorrow

JOJO MOYES

### BRITISH REACTION

Outside the Israeli embassy in Kensington the message attached to a simple wreath of white lilies displayed the grief of Britain's Jewish community. "I would have taken his place in a second if I could," it read. "No doubt, out of this number depth of Jewish history, will emerge Israel's finest hour."

Religious leaders and Israel's ambassador to London insisted the Middle East peace process would not be derailed by the killing. The Chief Rabbi, Dr Jonathan Sacks, said: "Peace is still a long way away but the dedication and commitment in it on the part of the Jewish community is undiminished. The process will go on."

"Yitzhak Rabin will, in our Jewish phrase, be one whose memory will stand as a blessing."

and the cause for which he dedicated his life will continue and that is our consolation."

Dr Sacks, speaking on BBC Radio, said the assassination was the work of an "unhanded" assassin and had no religious justification. He said a detail inside Israel in the aftermath of Rabin's murder was imperative.

"We must talk this out. We can't fight it out." Dr Sacks added: "He was a courageous man, bold in war, bold in peace and we will miss him."

According to police stationed outside the embassy, where scaffolding and tarpaulin acted as a reminder of last year's bombing, more than 70 people had come throughout the day to pay their respects. Today at noon the embassy will open a book of condolence.

This was reiterated by the chairman of Labour Friends of Israel, Norman Hogg MP. He sent a letter to the Israeli ambassador in London expressing his sadness and anger at the killing, and saying: "It will be to his lasting memory that the peace process should succeed."

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World leaders murdered since 1948

1962 — Ramaasinghe Premaadasa, president of Sri Lanka, blown up by suicide bombers. Deafened in 1961, his family were Melchior Ndadaye, first democratically elected president of Burundi, killed by Tutsis. Jean-Bédel Bokassa, coup.

1969 — François Tombalbaye, president of Chad, killed by rebels.

1970 — Olof Palme, Swedish prime minister, shot by unknown gunman on the streets of Stockholm.

1974 — Indira Gandhi, prime minister of India, shot by bodyguards.

1983 — Maurice Bishop, deposed prime minister of Grenada, shot by soldiers.

1982 — Bashir Gemayel, president-elect of Lebanon, killed by bombing.

1986 — President Mohammad Ali Rajai and Premier Jomeini Jad Bonapart of Iran, killed by a bomb. President Anwar Sadat of Egypt, shot by commandos in Cairo. Zia ur-Rahman of Bangladesh, killed by army dissidents.

1980 — William R Tolbert, president of Liberia, slain in coup.

1979 — Park Chung Hee, president of South Korea, killed by head of Korean CIA.

Nur Mohammed Taraki, president of Afghanistan, killed in Soviet-backed coup.

1977 — Marien Ngouabi, president of Congo, shot in Brazzaville.

1976 — General Murtala Ramat Mohammed, Nigerian head of state, slain in coup.

1975 — Richard Faidherbe, president of Madagascar, killed by gunners.

King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, shot by nephew in royal palace; Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, president of Bangladesh, slain in coup.

1973 — Salvador Allende, Chilean president, dies in coup.

1971 — Wasfi al-Tal, prime minister of Jordan, slain by Palestinian guerrillas in Cairo.

1968 — Hendrik F Verwoerd, prime minister of South Africa, stabbed to death in parliament.

1963 — Ngo Dinh Diem, president of South Vietnam, killed in military coup; John F Kennedy, president of the United States, shot in Dallas.

1961 — Patrice Lumumba, former premier of the Congo; Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina, Dominican Republic dictator.

1959 — Solomon Bandaranaike, prime minister of Ceylon, killed by Buddhist monk.

1957 — Carlos Castillo Armas, president of Guatemala, shot by one of his guards.

1956 — Anastasio Somoza, president of Nicaragua.

1951 — Abdullah ibn Hussein, king of Jordan; Lieut Ali Khan, first prime minister of Pakistan, shot by an Afghan fanatic.

1948 — Mahatma K Gandhi, Indian independence leader, killed by Hindu fanatic.

## Arabs who want peace fear genie as evil as the Islamist extremists

Robert Fisk, Middle East Correspondent, wonders when the world will admit that Israel has its own 'terrorist' problem



Anti-Israel demonstrators in Sidon, south Lebanon, gloating over Yitzhak Rabin's death. Photograph: AP

Beirut — Why the sense of shock? What's the surprise? Why the double standards about the murderer? When will the world admit that Israel has an Israeli "terrorist" problem?

I must have been asked these questions a dozen times in the hours that followed Yitzhak Rabin's assassination. And, listening to the reports coming in from Israel, it was not always easy to reply. If an Arab had easily replied to the Israeli Prime Minister, the Arab would have been a "terrorist". But within hours, Yigal Amir, a reserve soldier in the supposedly "elite" Golani brigade, was being described by journalists as a "long gunner", an "extremist", a "shooter" — whatever that means — and a possible member of the "Jewish underground" (*sic*).

Yet again, an Israeli killer, as opposed to an Arab killer, escaped the terrorist label — because he was an Israeli. It was just a question of the weary double standards of reporting the Middle East conflict — no journalist, after all, dared to call Baruch Goldstein a "terrorist" after he slaughtered 29 Palestinian worshippers in a Hebron mosque — but the political effect of this hypocrisy on Arab leaders.

If Israel wants peace so much, the Arabs have so often asked, why doesn't Israel deal as harshly with its own "terrorists" as it does with the Arab variety? Or, as a Palestinian put it yesterday, not far from the Sabra and Chatila refugee camps of Beirut, Jewish settlers have threatened Rabin's life thousand times — but when one of them carries out the promise, the world is expected to be shocked. These guys are terrorists too — but you never say

so." Put at its simplest, Rabin's murder touches the fear of every Arab tempted to make peace with Israel: that there is at the heart of the Israeli state something very dangerous — as frightening as the Islamist enemy which threatens so many Arab leaders, a monster which neither the Israelis nor the Americans have the will or the courage to acknowledge. For Arabs suspect that Goldstein and Yigal Amir and earlier Israeli killers are not isolated, lonely, demented gunmen, but the product of a fundamentalist Israeli society that lives on Arab land and which has frequently announced that it will fight its own government to keep it.

The settlements, after all,

lie at the very centre of the PLO-Israeli "peace" — if they stay, there will almost certainly be peace. If the Israeli government stands up to them — and this means more than

promising to infiltrate Jewish "extremist" movements — then something like peace might just emerge. But Rabin merely threatened their future, and paid for it with his life. He did not actually confront the menace which the settlers represented; and we journalists have done our bit to neutralise the moral issues. CNN has now reported that the Arab states opposed to the peace process had failed to condemn Rabin's murder — without mentioning that the killer was an Israeli.

The immature delight expressed by Iran and others at Rabin's death should not conceal the real problems of Israel's internal divisions, which President Shimon Peres, for one, has privately raised with the Americans on several occasions.

The burning tyres around the Beirut refugee camps, the rocket-propelled grenades fired into the sky over the Sidon

camps by those Palestinians

opposed to the PLO-Israeli peace, the car-loads of Hezbollah members driving with flags through Beirut; all these reflect despair, distrust and contempt in equal measure. As the man who launched the bombardment of southern Lebanon in 1993, killing 120 civilians and putting 300,000 refugees on the road in retaliation for the killing of seven Israeli occupation soldiers, Yitzhak Rabin was scarcely going to be regarded as the man of peace whom CNN spent so much time lauding yesterday.

But there were other lessons to be learned in the Arab world.

"What Rabin's murderer means is that Israel is just another Middle Eastern country, just like the Arabs — just like us," a Lebanese figure close to the pro-Iranian Hezbollah said here yesterday.

An Egyptian soldier killed President Sadat because he didn't like the peace with Is-

rael. Now an Israeli [reserve] soldier kills Rabin because he doesn't like peace with the Arabs. Israel has become a Middle Eastern society. Their leaders are in future going to be as frightened for their lives as our leaders. They too have a conflict between their secularists and their fundamentalists — just like the Arab societies. Only they won't admit it."

The same man recalled that last week, Sayed Hassan Nasrallah, the Hezbollah leader, the widow of the assassinated Islamist leader Fathi Shihabi, and Shihabi's successor, Ramadan Shihabi, all made personal threats against Rabin. "Now just imagine that an Arab had killed Arafat. We would all believe that Israel was behind Arafat's killing. Yet the moment we heard that Rabin had been killed by a Jew, none of us thought that the Jew was working for Islamic jihad. We know very well how violent the settler society is in Israel. We didn't think for a moment that the Jew had done it on our behalf."

Notwithstanding the public sorrow of King Hussein and President Mubarak and Yasser Arafat, there was silence from Damascus. Not a word came from the palace of President Hafez al-Assad (and thus, not surprisingly, not a peep came from the Lebanese prime minister, Rafiq Hariri).

Time, for the Arabs, is now frozen. And despite all the talk about rededication to peace, the whole "process" of Arab-Israeli rapprochement is now in adjournment.

If Rabin, the old warrior

could not tame the settlers, the Arabs are now asking, how can the distinctly unilitary figure of Shimon Peres? Put

more simply, what price peace?

JY 10/120

## RABIN ASSASSINATION



Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Rabin addressing supporters at a rally for peace in Tel Aviv. Shortly afterwards the killer Yigal Amir (centre) shot the prime minister as he returned to his car, before being apprehended by police (right)



## Solitary, religious student was 'told by God' to kill

PATRICK COCKBURN  
Jerusalem

Seconds after he had fired his .22 pistol at Yitzhak Rabin, the Israeli Prime Minister, the slight, dark-haired figure of Yigal Amir was caught by the television camera as he was pushed up against a wall by the Israeli police, still clutching the gun. He later explained quietly in his five-page confession that he

### THE KILLER

had "received instructions from God to kill Prime Minister Rabin." When police told him Rabin was dead he simply said: "I'm satisfied."

The 27-year-old third-year law student at Bar-Ilan university admitted he had tried to kill Rabin twice before but had not been able to get close enough.

On Saturday night he

emerged from a passageway behind the podium just as the Prime Minister returned to his armoured car, and shot Rabin at almost point-blank range.

He said he had planned to shoot Shimon Peres, the Foreign Minister, if he had accompanied Rabin.

Mr Amir's political and religious background is typical of the right-wing extremists in Israeli politics. Of Yemenite ori-

gin, he grew up in a large family with seven brothers and sisters in Herzliya, north of Tel Aviv. His father was religious and his mother taught in a kindergarten. He went to a religious school and then to a yeshiva (religious college) in Ashdod. He was conscripted into the army and served in the Golani brigade. On leaving the army he went to Bar-Ilan.

The university is considered conservative and right wing

and is favoured by religious, but not necessarily fanatical, students from Tel Aviv. According to other students, he belonged to a religious group and had shadowy associations with Kach and Eyal, two of the most extreme right-wing and anti-Arab parties. Other students say he would try to recruit them to spend weekends in the West Bank with settlers.

Mr Amir's decision to kill Rabin seems to have been taken

almost a year ago. In January he waited for him at Yad Vashem, the memorial in Jerusalem to the victims of the Holocaust. But the explosion of a bomb planted by Islamic Jihad, the militant Muslim group, which killed 21 soldiers at Be'er Sheva, led the Prime Minister to postpone his visit.

"He would say: 'We have to stick it to Rabin and his government,'" a fellow student said. Other students said he was

solitary. Avner Goldschmidt, a makeshift encampment erected by settlers on the disputed West Bank hilltop. "Most of the people at the July rally were fairly calm, but Mr Amir's behaviour was extreme, overtly hostile, both to the police and to the press," said a Reuters Television cameraman, Eli Berezhon, who covered the incident.

Television news footage of the settler demonstration on 31 July shows Mr Amir fighting police as they ejected him from the

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## Right tries to play down link to extremists

PATRICK COCKBURN  
Jerusalem

Israeli right-wingers were running for cover yesterday, fearing political oblivion if the public becomes convinced that the venom of their attacks on Yitzhak Rabin, the Israeli prime minister, led to his assassination.

"There is no compromising with Messianic politics," says Professor Yaron Ezrahi of the Hebrew University, denouncing the use of violence by religious idealists as a threat to Israeli democracy. He points out that at a recent rally in Jerusalem members of Likud silenced Rabin by cutting off his microphone. Now an assassin has silenced him for good.

Parallels like this are exactly what Likud does not want to hear. Over the last year settler groups had made repeated threats of violence if the Oslo agreement went ahead. Most of these were directed against Palestinians and the government was tolerant. But in recent months it was Rabin and Shimon Peres, the Foreign Minister, who were denounced.

Earlier this year Ari Rath, a former editor of the *Jerusalem Post*, said that he was worried not just by the fact that the right put up notices showing Rabin as a Nazi but that nobody bothered to take them down.

The Labour party and the government seemed unconcerned by the growing atmosphere of violence.



Widow's grief: Yitzhak Rabin's wife, Leah, arriving at the Knesset yesterday

Photograph: Yannis Behrakis

and secular Jews. Israel was established as a Jewish state, but there were continued disputes about what this meant. Israelis tend to be much more conscious of this friction than the outside world which saw Israeli nationalism as being little different from anywhere else.

The most significant development over the next few weeks will be the degree of the split between the religious and the secular right. Mr Netanyahu will

have difficulty in straddling the two as he has done in the past and will distance himself from the settlers and other far right factions.

Liberal and secular Israelis hope that the trauma of the assassination will permanently weaken the religious and nationalist right.

Mr Peres will try to ensure that it does, but, such is their strength, it is unlikely that he can permanently succeed.

## Damascus remains key to Middle East settlement

MICHAEL SHERIDAN  
Diplomatic Editor

Three questions face the Middle East this week in the aftermath of the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin. Will Israel's left-of-centre government retain its grip on power until the general election due in November next year? Can Shimon Peres, named as acting Prime Minister, forge a domestic base strong enough to conduct Israel's last crucial set of negotiations with Syria? And does the violent shock of the assassination make it more or less likely that Syria itself will edge closer to a settlement?

The key figure needed for a Peres government to succeed in that policy will be the former army chief of staff, Ehud Barak, at present Minister of the Interior, perhaps the only figure capable of providing Israeli voters with the cautious reassurance that was Rabin's trademark.

President Bill Clinton, the Prime Minister, John Major, and a host of senior international figures will be present at today's funeral in Jerusalem – principally to mourn Rabin. But they will also take this opportunity to reinforce the initiative to settle the dispute between Arabs and Jews that has caused five regional wars – in 1948, 1956, 1967, 1973 and 1982 – and continue to exact a steady toll of victims. The Foreign Secretary, Malcolm Rifkind, will be flying on from Israel for a series of meetings with Arab leaders and it is likely that the US will also seek to generate new momentum in the stalled talks with Syria.

Yesterday, diplomats closely engaged in the peace negotiations believed Mr Peres would pursue and perhaps even accelerate talks with Damascus, knowing that under Israeli law he may now lead a transitional government with a 61-59 Knesset majority through to the 1996 elections. Barring the usual crop of Israeli coalition crises, he should retain his grip on power.

Almost a year ago, in January, he waited for him at Yad Vashem, the memorial in Jerusalem to the victims of the Holocaust. But the explosion of a bomb planted by Islamic Jihad, the militant Muslim group, which killed 21 soldiers at Be'er Sheva, led the Prime Minister to postpone his visit.

"He would say: 'We have to stick it to Rabin and his government,'" a fellow student said. Other students said he was

solitary. Avner Goldschmidt, a makeshift encampment erected by settlers on the disputed West Bank hilltop. "Most of the people at the July rally were fairly calm, but Mr Amir's behaviour was extreme, overtly hostile, both to the police and to the press," said a Reuters Television cameraman, Eli Berezhon, who covered the incident.

Television news footage of the settler demonstration on 31 July shows Mr Amir fighting police as they ejected him from the

Damascus, too. The mutual suspicion and caution of Assad and Rabin reinforced the barriers to a settlement.

Rabin had transformed conventional political psychology elsewhere in the Middle East.



Moved to tears: President Clinton morns for Rabin

The atmospheric change was positively seismic," recalled James Baker, then US Secretary of State. In his recent memoirs, Mr Baker recounts Rabin's strategic decision to change Israel's policy, sacrificing the territorial aspirations of Jewish zealots in exchange for peace treaties with the Arab world. "I intend to persevere," Rabin told Mr Baker, "for the sake of 3.9 million Israeli Jews and a

million Israeli Arabs who should not have to mortgage their future for 100,000 settlers in the territories."

The fruits of Rabin's policy came through the Oslo accords with the Palestinians and a full peace treaty with Jordan. Together with the 1978 Camp David accords with Egypt, they secured for Israel the end of belligerency on all but its slender northern frontiers.

Damascus thus remains the key: "No war without Egypt, no peace without Syria" said Mr Kissinger. Only last week the Syrian press gave proof that official rhetoric has regressed to the Kissinger era. "Israel has pursued the path of terrorism, murder and massacres since its establishment," said the daily newspaper *Tishrin*. "Israel rejects the return of land and sets conditions under the pretense of peace." The ruling party daily, *Al-Baath*, said: "The truth is that the real dispute is between Israel and the United Nations as long as Israel rejects the UN resolutions while Syria sticks to them." Mr Peres, interviewed before the assassination, said he believed Syria still wanted to keep their negotiating options open. He made clear his belief that Israel should press on with talks despite next year's election.

In my view winning peace is no less important than winning elections," said Mr Peres, "we were put in office for a four-year term and we are duty bound to make full use of every minute, to serve the nation in matters of peace and security. There is no room for hesitation."

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## NOLAN DEBATE

# Sleaze or integrity? Rebels hold the key



Twelve of the MPs in vital vote... and amendments which will decide the issue

## Advocacy ban

Select Committee: "No Member... shall in consideration of any... fee, payment, reward or benefit in kind... advocate or initiate any cause or matter, or behalf of any outside body or individual or urge any other Member... including Ministers, to do so by means of any speech, Question, Motion... Bill or amendment."

## Amendments:

Dr Tony Wright (Lab): add "or by any other means, either formal or informal".  
Dale Campbell-Savours (Lab): add "[or delegation... or correspondence... where the subject to be discussed affects only the body in which he or she has a paid interest]"

Nolan Committee said immediate ban was "impracticable" and that further thought was needed before a decision on whether... a ban was... appropriate

## Earnings disclosure

Select Committee: that MPs should register with the new Parliamentary Committee (Sir Gordon Downey) details of outside contracts which involves the provision of services in his capacity as an MP... excluding the amount of emolument or benefit.

## Amendments:

Labour, Liberal Democrat, SNP front benches: delete from "excluding" and insert "including the fees and benefits payable in bands of up to £1,000, £1,000-£5,000, £5,000-£10,000 and thereafter in bands of £5,000".  
Peter Thurnham, Sir Teddy Taylor, Patrick Donahue also supported by David Wilshire: delete from "excluding" and insert "...and to provide full details of financial benefits arising directly from positions relating to the promotion of particular interests concerning Parliamentary business and... that the new arrangements be implemented after the next general election."

Nolan Committee recommended earnings disclosure for "full understanding of the nature of the service expected by a business or consultancy of an MP".

## MPs as paid advisers to multi-client lobbying firms

Select Committee: Ban on multi-client firms... will not work... A multi-client organisation such as Gowerhouse, which has a large number of clients... will never be able to advise best in which mode effective.

## Amendments:

SMP: "Member shall enter into an agreement for the provision of services... in any way... engaged in lobbying or public relations on behalf of more than one client... without prior written consent of the Member."

We refer to the report of the Nolan Committee on the relationship between MPs and public relations on page 10. We believe that the best way to tackle this is to ban on payments to multi-client firms. We refer to the report of the Nolan Committee on the relationship between MPs and public relations on page 10. We believe that the best way to tackle this is to ban on payments to multi-client firms.

This is a simplified summary of the main elements of the 28 amendments submitted to the Select Committee.

As the Commons prepares for a night of high drama, the Government faces a revolt from a dozen backbenchers.

**Don Macintyre** reports

**D**rama of political high drama do not come much more dramatic than the Tuesday afternoon just over a year ago when John Major announced that he was setting up an inquiry under Lord Nolan into standards in public life. The 25 October announcement came on the same day as Mr Major sacked his trade minister Neil Hamilton, who admitted that, as a back-bench MP, he had taken an undisclosed free stay in the Paris Ritz from Mohammed al Fayed, the boss of Harrods.

It was the cumulative effect of the allegations - denied by Mr Hamilton but not, in the end, by Tim Smith, Graham Riddick or David Tredinnick - that as back-bench MPs they had accepted offers of cash for asking parliamentary questions, that finally convinced John Major the weekend before his announcement that nothing short of a wide-ranging enquiry under a leading judge would do.

It is that issue - how to deal with the money-making temptations available to ordinary MPs - that has to be resolved in what promises to be another Commons drama tonight, with the Government facing a revolt by more than a dozen of its backbenchers.

When Nolan reported in May, it was clear that MPs should continue to be allowed outside interests. But it also pointed out how those interests had changed over the years. A generation ago many MPs had other jobs, as farmers, or bona

Both sides, as they seek to maximise their votes today, are guilty of a little myth-making

fide businessmen or solicitors. But now, 30 per cent of all MPs had consultancies paying them for knowledge and access because they sat in Parliament.

There was, moreover, another problem. A governing 1947 Commons resolution had made it clear that an MP could not enter into any contract with a firm which required him to advocate its interests in the Commons. But the subsequent Register of Members' Interests, by requiring MPs to register interests "which might reasonably be thought by others to influence his or her actions speeches or votes" seemed to assume that MPs could be expected to pursue their clients' interests in the Commons provided they registered them properly.

Arguing that this discrepancy was "wholly unsatisfactory", the Nolan report proposed that the 1947 resolution should be clearly restated. It considered going further than the 1947 resolution by banning advocacy altogether, but rejected this as "impracticable", at least in the short term. The passage in which the committee explains the reasons for this appears to argue that MPs would then have to end many of their outside contracts in order to be free to speak and vote on many issues with which they were personally concerned.

The report could also severely hamper union-sponsored MPs (though Labour plans to switch union cash from MPs to



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## news

# Greenpeace prunes UK branch

**NICHOLAS SCHOON**  
Environment Correspondent

Greenpeace UK has decided to cut one-fifth of its salaried staff and turn thousands of its local fund-raising volunteers into trained campaigners.

The changes which affect every part of the organisation were approved by Greenpeace UK's board last week. Executive director Lord Peter Melchett, the driving force behind the shake-up, said it was needed to ensure Greenpeace remained "a thorn in the flesh" of those who wrecked the environment.

The job cuts, which have

been under intensive discussion for two months, have damaged morale. "People are anxious about their own jobs or sad that friends are leaving," Eton and Cambridge-educated Lord Melchett, said.

The number of salaried staff will fall from 83 to 65, but the actual number of redundancies is likely to be only about 10 because there were already several vacancies.

Until now, Greenpeace UK's 230 local groups have been heavily involved in fundraising through activities such as street and door-to-door collections, sponsored walks and selling Greenpeace merchandise.

They will be expected to do much less of that in future and this will cost the organisation £200,000 a year in lost revenue. Instead, the board wants them to take part in mass protest actions, such as the recent demonstration outside Chequers when John Major met the French President, Jacques Chirac.

The international environmental pressure group has a tradition of using small numbers of commissioned, modestly-paid activists for its potentially dangerous protest actions. They need special skills, such as flying helicopters, piloting inflatables and mountaineering up sheer structures.

But in the UK and some other European nations, Greenpeace is coming to the view that involving a much larger number of supporters in direct action is equally important. This year that has happened with "invasions" of British Nuclear Fuel's Sellafield plant and a Bastille Day party at the French Embassy, as well as at Chequers. Volunteers have been given training in non-violent protest techniques.

"Our supporters were more and more anxious to get involved," Lord Melchett, a junior minister in the last Labour government, said.

"They think they can make a difference."

At head office in Islington, north London, the aim is to keep the annual budget at just over £5m a year. Cuts in jobs and administration will save £600,000 a year. An extra £200,000 will be devoted to campaigning and £100,000 more spent on building up cash reserves.

The budget for recruiting new supporters through advertising and mailing campaigns is going up by £100,000 a year. Greenpeace said it now has 350,000 supporters – people who have given money in the past 18 months – compared to about 400,000 at its peak a few years ago.

"We've been living off the gains which came with our very rapid growth in the late 1980s," Lord Melchett said. "It's time to take off in new directions, to be more imaginative and do the unexpected."

He said the Brent Spar campaign of the summer had so far had no overall impact on donations and support for Greenpeace UK. A one-off appeal immediately after Shell backed down and abandoned plans to dump the giant oil storage buoy at sea did, however, raise about £100,000.

In Britain, the organisation will be investing more in campaigning for solutions to envi-



Melchett: Still in charge

ronmental problems. It is particularly keen on solar energy.

One thing that will remain constant is Lord Melchett himself. After running the UK organisation for six years he is Greenpeace's longest serving executive director among the 30 nations where it has offices.

## IN BRIEF

### Search for killer after car shooting

Police are hunting a gunman who shot a man three times at point-blank range as he got out of his car. Derek Palmier, in his forties, of Feltham, Middlesex, died after being hit twice in the head and once in the heart by a gunman wearing a crash helmet as he fetched a coat from his car in Kilburn, north London, on Saturday evening. Police are keeping an "open mind" about the motive.

### Schools initiative

David Blunkett, Labour's education spokesman, will today try to steal a march on the Government by inviting councils to pilot schemes for raising standards in poor schools by sack-

ing the head, weak teachers and replacing some governors.

### Priest resigns

A Presbyterian minister at the centre of an investigation into the import of pornographic videos has resigned. The Rev David Templeton, of Trinity Church in Greyabbey, Co Down, had been on sick leave following the allegations.

### Caine tribute

Ken Caine, husband of the comedienne Marlene Caine, thanked fans for their support during her fight against cancer. Ms Caine, 50, died on Saturday, a day after discharging herself from hospital following a relapse.

### Lottery winners

Three ticket-holders won a share in Saturday's National Lottery jackpot of £8,395,869. They matched the winning numbers of 6, 14, 18, 27, 44 and 48, reaping £2,798,623 each. The bonus number was 1.

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**Beatlemania revival:** Collectors devour the tacky and trivial as band survivors attack use of songs in commercials

## Fans weep over plastic guitars

**DAVID LISTER**  
Arts Correspondent

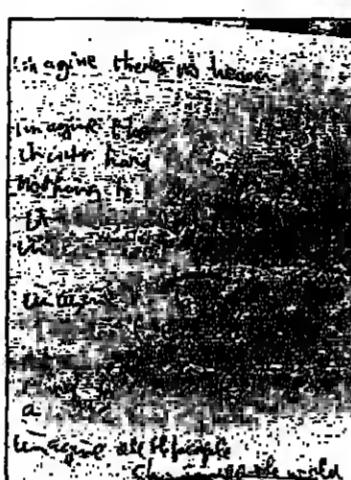
It is the most limited limited edition in the world. In 1958 The Quarry Men, an embryonic pop band later to be The Beatles, made an acetate – a demo recording – of a song called "In Spite Of All The Danger". There is just one copy. If you have it, polish it. Its estimated value now is £100,000.

That song, the only one written by Paul McCartney and George Harrison, will feature on the CD released later this month to accompany *The Beatles Anthology* television series.

Beatles memorabilia has always commanded high prices. But the renewed interest in the group is reinforcing interest in the tackiest ephemera.

Records, as opposed to ephemera, are also being sought by collectors. frustratingly, many items are items that were common at the time and discarded by fans who did not participate in a Beatles revival.

For example, the last Beatles album released was the box set of *Let It Be* in 1970. The box containing album and booklet was held in place by a cardboard tray and was so hard to open that nearly every copy got ripped or thrown away. If you did not, it now fetches £150. The



Collectables: Above, Lennon's lyrics to 'Imagine' on the back of a hotel bill; (below) a letter from McCartney in Hamburg and (right) a 1967 'Time' cover



## Jackson 'cheapens our songs'

The three remaining Beatles yesterday attacked superstar Michael Jackson for "cheapening" their work.

Jackson bought the rights to the Beatles music for £50m and has allowed some songs to be used in television commercials.

George Harrison warned: "Unless we do something about it, every Beatles song is going to end up advertising bras and pork pies."

Paul McCartney said Jackson – with whom he recorded two singles in the 1980s, "Say Say" and "The Girl Is Mine" – had "cheapened" the songs.

Their comments came just ahead of the release of the *The Beatles Anthology* album later this month, which will feature the first new tracks for 25 years.

The Beatles spoke of the "magic" of recording new tracks together again. "Free As A Bird" and "Real Love" were recorded by Paul McCartney, Ringo Starr and George Harrison from tapes started by the fourth Beatle, John Lennon, who was murdered in 1980.

But on the two tracks, and thanks to multi-track recording equipment, Lennon's voice joins his old friends in the Abbey Road studio. McCartney told *Elle* magazine: "It was all very strange and very magical."

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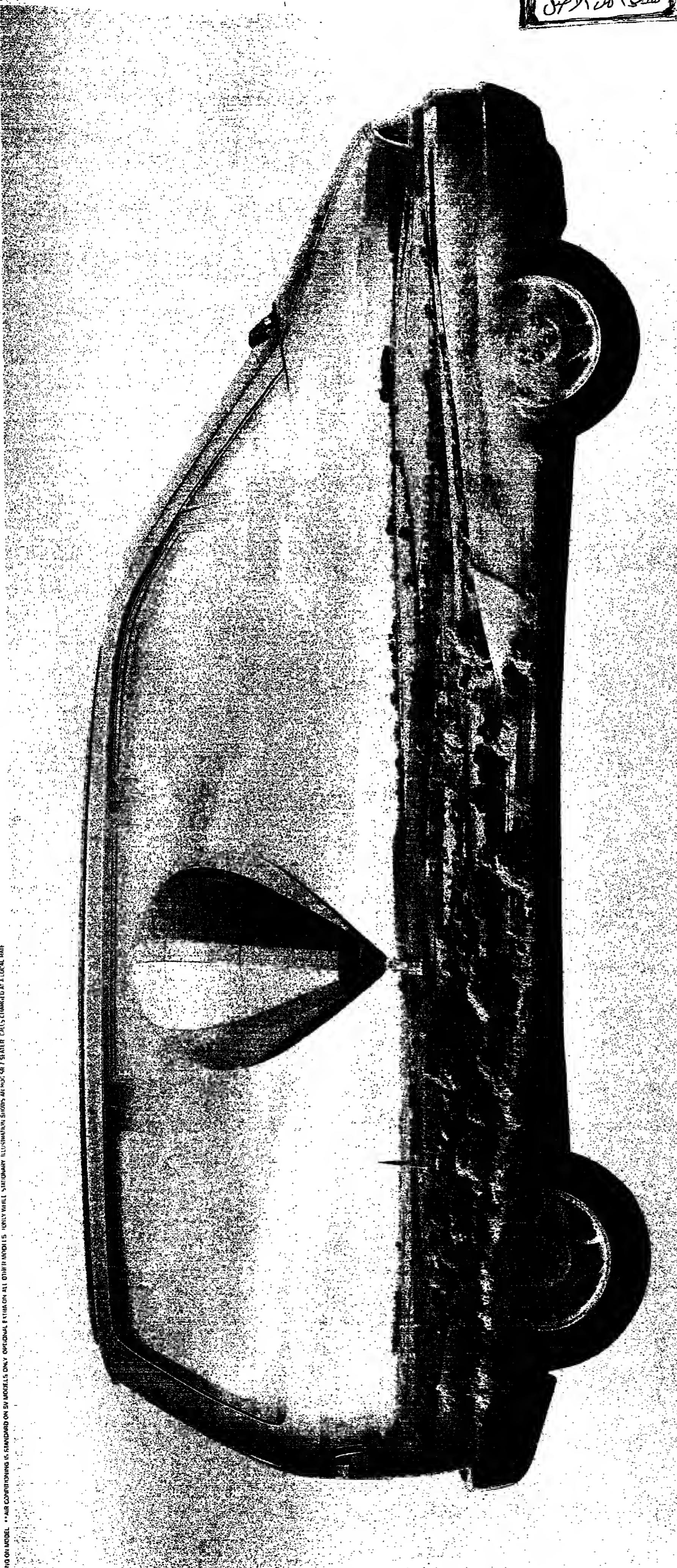
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# news

**National Lottery:** Betting industry calls for cut in tax as changed gambling habits put thousands of shops at risk of closure



Backing a loser: Profits have been hit as people spend their money on lottery tickets, rather than horses

Photograph: David Rose

## Bookies warn they may not last the course

GLENDA COOPER

As the National Lottery approaches its first birthday, bookmakers claim that unless the Government takes rapid action they will be forced out of business.

On Friday, the independent bookmakers Stanley Leisure announced that half-year profits were "significantly below" that achieved for the comparable half year in 1994-95. Three days earlier, Vernon's Pools had announced 150 redundancies. Both companies blamed the National Lottery.

racing and Sunday racing. So we're making less per meeting."

If a shop does not open on a Sunday, the punter will take his bet - and return to claim his winnings - elsewhere. So although most shops will only get 40 per cent of customers they

would on a weekday, they are too scared of losing further

custom not to open.

But it would be wrong to blame all retail ills on the lottery, according to Ray Stone, assistant director of the Henley Centre. In March, the centre brought out a report, *Lottery Fallout*, which looked at the effect of lottery spending last December and January.

At that time, some of the 10,000 shops and garages with lottery terminals had seen sales rise by as much as 20 per cent since November 1994. Food stores had doubled sales at their tobacco counters.

The report also warned that pubs and restaurants were likely to see trade fall, or at least shift around, as so many people were staying home later to watch the draw. It suggested that cinemas might have to reschedule Saturday evening shows, or even announce the draw themselves.

However, Mr Stone said that these findings were preliminary and some were out of date six months on. *Lottery Fallout 2*, a report which looks at the first full year, will be published at the end of November.

"People should be asking different questions," he said. "We've got some good and some marginal shops. The marginal shops are just hanging on while we wait for legislation to come in."

Mr Bruce's greatest loss has

been from what he calls the "roulette wheel" customers - who have been lured away by scratchcards.

"There is always an element

that use racing but are not in-

terested in the form - the sort

that always put a 10p treble on

Traps 1 and 2 at Hackney," he

said. "They bid on a small scale

on famous names. One way or

another, scratchcards have at-

tracted this sort of punter. And

that's made marginal shops

more desperate."

Mr Bruce disagrees. He says

he will hang on until the Bud-

get in just over three weeks time

to see if the cut in betting tax

which would create a "level

playing field" appears. "But we

can't bang on much longer."

## Howard to extend electronic tagging as trial founders

JASON BENNETTO  
Crime Correspondent

for breaching their orders. The Home Office hopes that an extension will allow further people to be tagged which will enable a proper assessment of the system.

The National Association of Probation Officers claims that Home Office officials have been lobbying magistrates to use more tags.

It estimates that 7,500 pre-sentence reports have been produced since the trial began and that in only 55 cases have magistrates asked whether tagging was appropriate.

A meeting between Home Office officials, probation managers and magistrates will take place this week to discuss the trials. In tests in 1989 only 49 offenders were tagged out of a hopeful 140.

Harry Fletcher of the probation officers' association said any extension of the trial would be evidence that the system was on its last legs.

The Home Office did not deny that the trials were about to be extended three months. It said an announcement would be made later this week.

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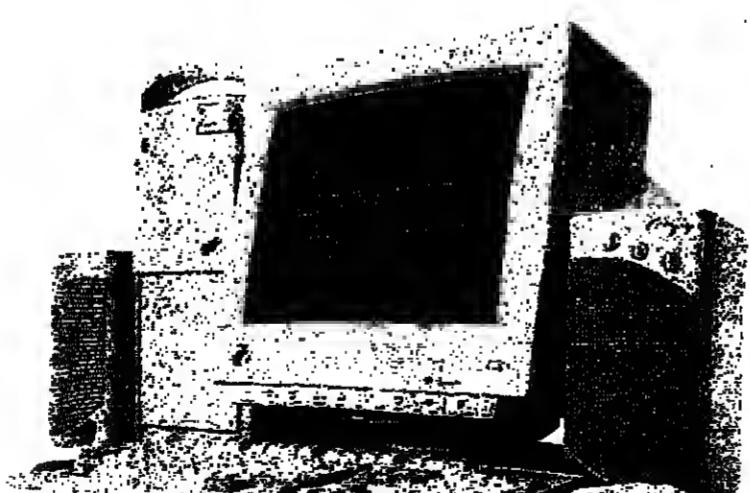
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# S news

## Probation hostel wardens offered 'zero-hours' deal

**BARRIE CLEMENT**  
Labour Editor

Hostel wardens who often look after criminals have been offered Burger King-style "zero hours contracts" by the probation service.

Relief workers in special homes used for suspects on bail and criminals on probation, have been asked to be on call virtually 24 hours a day, but are only paid when they work.

They are thought to be among the first government employees to be offered the arrangement, which first came to public notice when employment conditions among temporary workers at a Burger King restaurant in Glasgow were exposed. The fast-food chain has since abandoned the contracts.

The auxiliary hostel staff, mostly women, are not expected to wait on the premises for work as they were at the restaurant but in common with Burger King, they are only employed on a pay-as-you-work basis.

Relief wardens in West Yorkshire have enlisted the help of community lawyers to fight the new system, but the National Association of Probation Officers believes the practice is widespread throughout the country and growing because of cuts in budgets. The auxiliary

workers in West Yorkshire used to be given substantial notice of shifts, according to lawyers, and some were regularly working at least 30 hours a week.

Cuts have meant that there are no permanently employed wardens available to be switched from one hostel to another in case of absence. Back-up staff have been warned, however, that there will be fewer work opportunities.

One of several women who contacted Kirklees Community Law Centre in Yorkshire - she wants to remain anonymous for fear of losing her job - had been employed as a hostel relief worker for more than two years but had not been offered a contract of employment.

Probation service officials in West Yorkshire yesterday argued that the new working arrangements had been forced on them by a reduction in budgets. But a management source conceded that the employment conditions of assistant wardens were "highly unsatisfactory".

Harry Fletcher of the probation officers' union said the growth of zero-hours contracts would lead to a deterioration in the service.

A spokesman for the Home Office, which has responsibility for the hostels, said: "It is not for us to comment on the management of the West Yorkshire Probation Service."

## Holiday rights 'worst in EU'

Labour today stepped up its demand for improved rights to paid holidays after a survey showed Britain lagging behind its European neighbours.

British workers are alone in Europe in having no legal right to paid holidays, according to a study by Professor Francis Green of Leeds University School of Business and Economic Studies.

Professor Green's study, *Union Recognition and Paid Holiday Entitlement*, shows:

- One in nine workers in Britain gets no paid holiday.
- Unionised workers receive a total of 4.5 days more holiday on average than non-unionised employees. A total of 1.75 million employees, two-thirds of whom were in the distribution, hotel, catering and other services, would benefit, he said.

He urged the Government to drop its opposition to the directive, which was agreed by a majority of member states two years ago. Britain's case is due to be heard in the European Court early next year.

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"Labour believes British workers should be at the top of the European league when it comes to employment rights."

While Tony Blair is on the brink of becoming the first

## Tories 'increasingly dominated' by privileged Oxbridge minority

**DONALD MACINTYRE** and **CATHY NEWMAN**

The myth that the Conservatives have forsaken their patrician past to become a classless party of self-made, self-educated barrow boys and shopkeepers is comprehensively debunked in an academic study to be published this month.

If anything, the leading

cadres of the party have shown a greater tilt towards a public school and Oxbridge background since Margaret Thatcher came to power in 1979, the new research reveals. And the trend has actually accelerated since John Major made it the theme of his leadership campaign in 1990.

While Tony Blair is on the brink of becoming the first

public school prime minister since Lord Home and Mr Major famously went to a state comprehensive, there has been an increase in the number of Tory ministers to have been privately educated and to have attended Oxford and Cambridge.

The report, *The Conservative Parliamentary Elite 1964-1994: The End of Social Convergence*, to be published in the November issue of the journal *Socialology*, demonstrates that in the last 16 years there has been a 7 per cent increase in the number of Tories with a privileged academic background.

The authors, David Baker, Imogen Fountain, Andrew Gamble and Steve Ludlam, from Sheffield and Nottingham Trent universities, say: "The patrician retreat has

actually been halted and reversed."

Since 1983, the number of Conservative MPs educated in the private sector and at traditional universities has gone up by 3 per cent.

During the Thatcher years, 19 per cent of ministers were Old Etonians; under Major, 22 per cent. The figure is particularly striking as the proportion of Old

Etonian Tory MPs in general has halved since 1974.

The Prime Minister's lack of university qualifications is not matched by his colleagues. More and more Tory MPs have a university degree. In 1964-66, the research found, 24 per cent of Conservative MPs had no tertiary education; the figure in 1992 fell to 9 per cent.

"The party's parliamentary

elite, and recruitment into it, remains predominantly the preserve of men from a socially and economically exclusive minority group, and their predominance is being reasserted," the report says.

This pattern may be explained by the social composition of the Tory heartland, which means that public school and Oxbridge educated politi-

cians tend to get selected for safe rural seats.

Steve Ludlam said: "There was a bit of research in the Eighties suggesting that Margaret Thatcher's leadership was heralding 'embourgeoisification'. Our research suggests that this trend has gone into reverse. The Tory elite has a very disproportionate access to safe seats."

### DAILY POEM

#### Squaring the Circle

By Gwyneth Lewis

Here is the body  
of Mary of Burgundy  
with a box containing the heart  
of her son,  
Philip the Handsome.  
Was it wise  
to become  
so centralised?

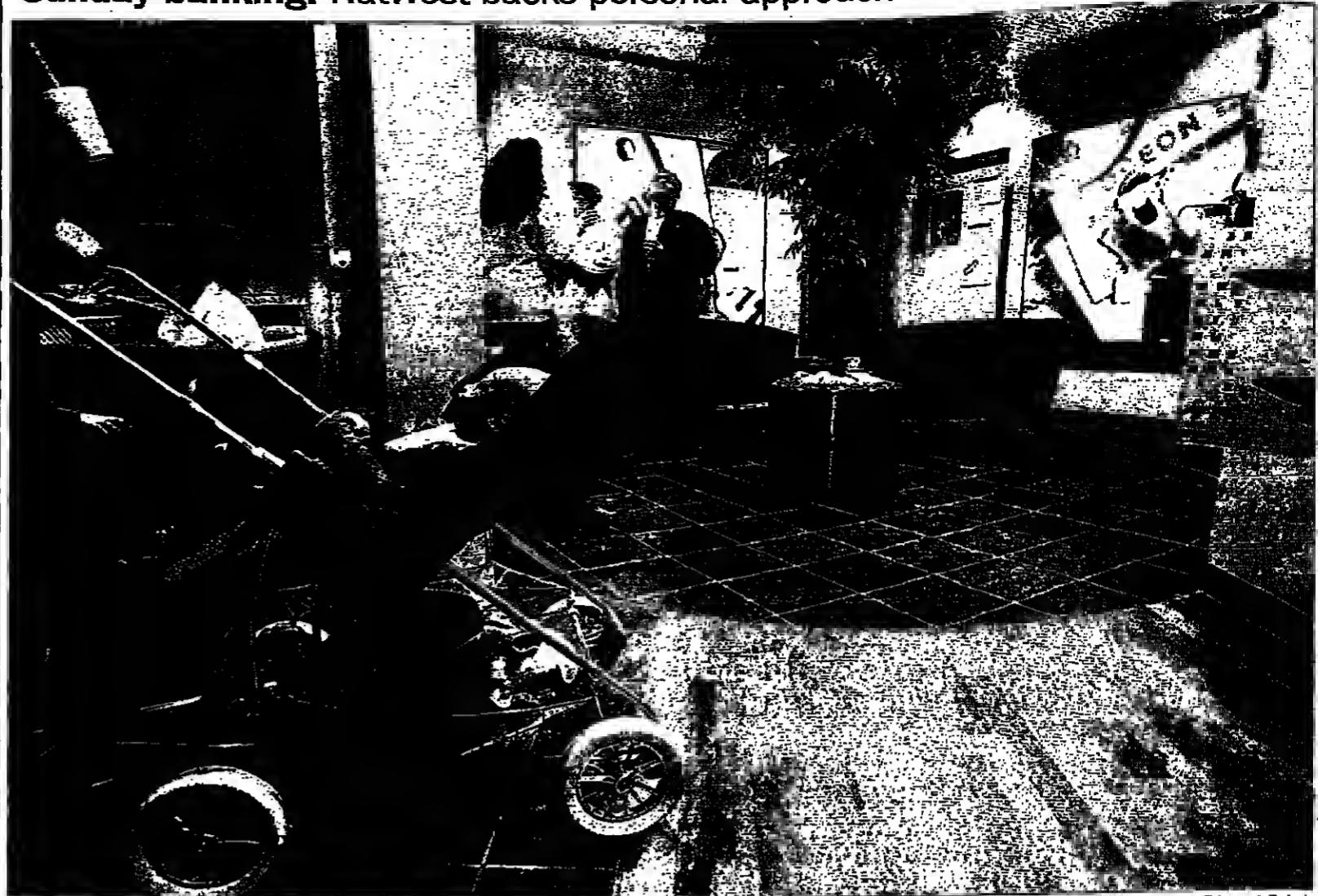
In a convent in Spain  
Joanna the Mad,  
enflamed by all  
the women he had,  
keeps guard at his body  
inflamed by the heat  
of the gothic fever  
that's to be her fate –  
her Castilian hate.  
For who's to say  
where his real heart lay?

And in the Salle des Mariages  
the members of Mary's entourage  
have been hung like portraits,  
so they never think  
of rearranging this odd ménage  
all out of synch.

For these  
are not bodies  
but polities  
and the truth is  
that having Philip back  
has given his mother  
a heart attack.

Gwyneth Lewis's *Parables and Fables*, published by Bloodaxe Books has been awarded the 1995 Aldeburgh Poetry Festival Prize for the year's best first collection. It is a scintillating brew of sardonic observation, gleeful wit and, as one reviewer remarked, the warmest of commitments to human feeling. She is a story teller *par excellence*, wandering at will through the culture, but equally adept at spinning yarns closer to home in the landscapes of her native Wales. One of the finest poetry books of the year.

**Sunday banking: NatWest backs personal approach at family-friendly branch**



Family affair: NatWest's Lakeside Shopping Centre branch, which offers nappy-changing facilities and Disney videos. Photograph: Edward Sykes

## Seven-day 'financial store' opens new era

**JOJO MOYES**

Britain yesterday saw the launch of the "bank branch of the future", offering Sunday opening, automated or personal service, and complete with soft-furnishings, Disney videos and nappy-changing facilities.

According to NatWest, the branch at Lakeside Shopping Centre in Thurrock, Essex, is the first UK bank to open seven days a week, all year round.

And it is less a branch, the company says, than a financial store: a new concept in banking which rejects the notion that all banking will eventually take place via telephone or digital screen.

"Research tells us that people are very happy to do basic transactional banking over the phone or via machines. But for things like mortgages and pensions they are much less confident," Tim Burfoot, head of NatWest distribution strategy,

said. "We wanted to create an environment which was about people, where they could feel comfortable and relaxed. We think this is the branch of the future."

Instead of counters, the bank has cash and foreign exchange machines on one side, along with a telephone which offers direct connection to banking and insurance services.

On the other side is has coffee lounge-type rooms, complete with paintings and soft-furnishings, where customers can talk over coffee with financial advisers. Videos and play-kits are available for small children, along with nappy-changing facilities.

"The emphasis is not on cash but on talking to people," Roger Thomas, the regional managing director, said. "People can be here for some hours discussing pensions or mortgages and they frequently bring

children so we wanted to make everything comfortable for them and reduce some of the anxiety and stress people feel in these circumstances."

John Harding, one of two "store managers" at the new branch, denied that the new title was a change in name only. He said the new layout was like a "conventional shop" where people could walk round and store assistants would offer help. "That's why we're calling it a store," he said.

Opening at Lakeside on a Sunday makes financial sense to the bank. With 500,000 customers a week, Sundays are now as busy as Saturdays. According to NatWest there had been little opposition to Sunday opening, either from banking unions or staff, who had oversubscribed the new jobs by 10 to 1.

And the crowd of 150 people who had come to join in the opening celebrations were

equally enthusiastic. Sporting badges, balloons and silly hats, they appeared to treat the new opening, complete with champagne, streamers and a loud countdown, with as much enthusiasm as the staff.

"I definitely like it," said Kerry Vale from Witham, shopping with her four-year-old son Reece. "I would rather come on Sunday. And if you've got to sit down and talk then at least there's stuff to keep the kids occupied," Steve Thompson, a 27-year-old food carrier, agreed.

"Sunday's just the same as any other day now really, isn't it?" he said. "It would be better for me as I wouldn't have to take time off work."

He had been standing by the ceremonial ribbon for nearly 25 minutes. So was he impressed by the celebrations? "Not really. There's no need for all this, is there? I'm just waiting to use the bloody cash machine."

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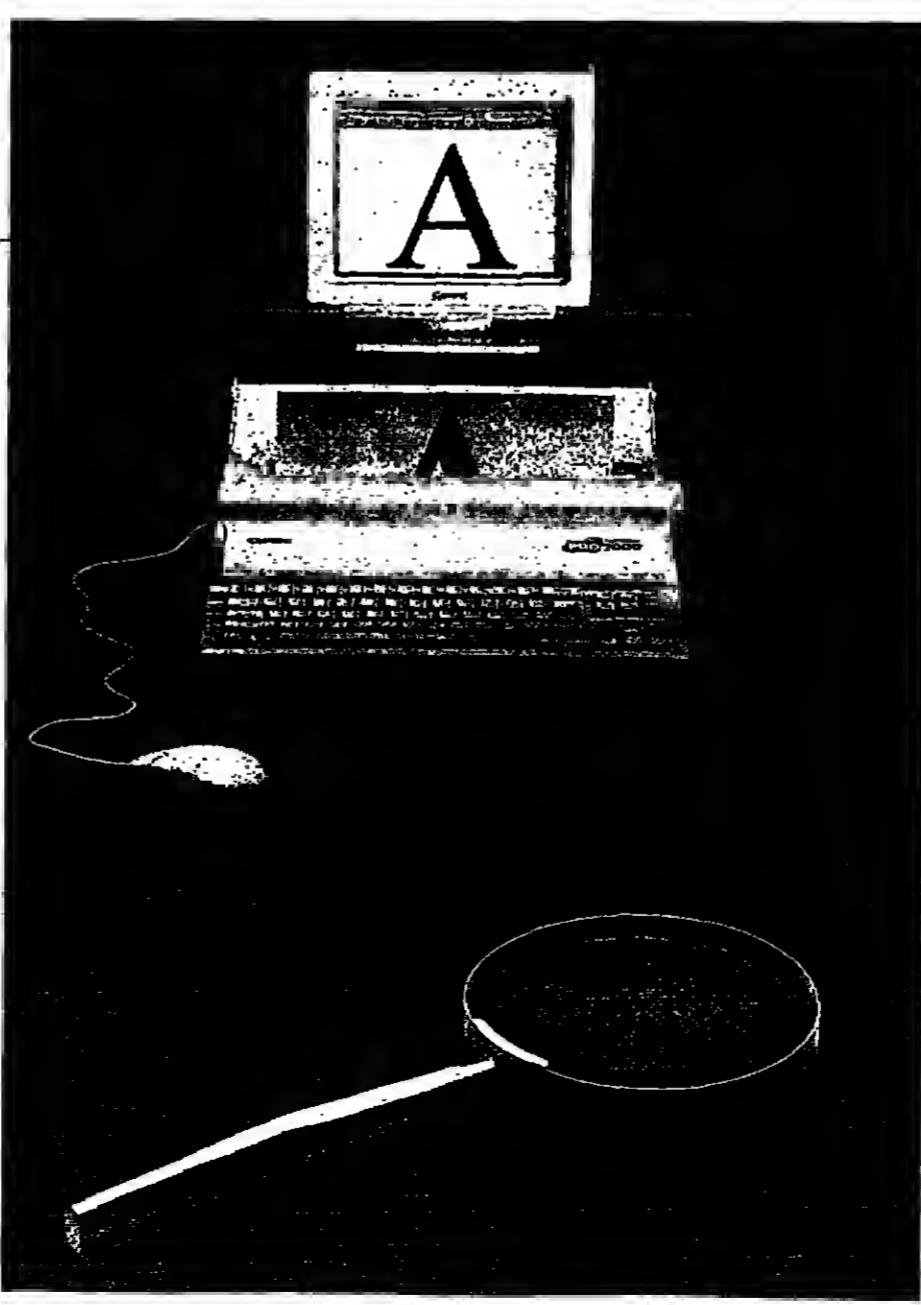
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news

# Vice squads in call for brothels to be legalised

JASON BENNETTO  
Crime Correspondent

A third of police vice squads want brothels to be legalised, because officers believe they are fighting a losing battle against prostitution, a new study reveals today.

In addition, almost all the vice-squad officers questioned in England and Wales believe the current anti-prostitution laws are outdated, cumbersome and difficult to implement.

There is also widespread frustration at what officers believe is extremely weak legislation and soft penalties against kerb-crawlers.

The report shows that one in 10 officers thinks street prostitution should be legalised as well. The findings come in a study by the Centre of Criminology, Middlesex University. About 30 of the country's 40 vice squads took part in the research, which found widespread variation in the treatment of prostitutes, pimps and kerb-crawlers.

Many officers admit their work against street prostitutes is practically a waste of time and is carried out to appease complaining residents. However, the report found that the number of street prostitutes was decreasing.

According to the report, there are increasingly tolerant attitudes towards prostitutes who ply their trade in saunas, massage parlours, brothels and strip bars. Officers often stated that their main priorities were to "clean up the streets - not to police sex". And they considered that off-street prostitute posed few law and order problems. Half of the squads said they did not actively police off-street prostitution and only became involved when the public complained.

These areas included Bristol, Bradford, Cambridge, Coventry, Essex, Greater Manchester, Hampshire, Liverpool, Midlothian, North Staffordshire, Northampton, Stoke-on-Trent, Plymouth and Wolverhampton.

Twenty squads reported a total of 1,231 women working as prostitutes in off-street locations. The number of women per squad ranged from three in Liverpool to 400 in Bristol.

The view expressed by a number of vice teams was that they could do little more than "keep the lid on it". One officer interviewed said: "It's the oldest profession in the book. You'll never get rid of it. Sometimes we feel like we're getting it under control a bit, but you

How vice squads would tackle brothels		
Change in Law	No of squads	%
Power of arrest and entry	10	48
Legalisation	7	33
Power to arrest staff and clients	3	14
Burden of proof to be on defence in immoral earnings cases	3	14
Simplify, update legislation	2	10
Power to close brothels	2	10

can guarantee as soon as you turn your back, it's back again.

"It's a never-ending problem. That's why I think they ought to legalise it and give them somewhere where they can work."

Almost all squads complained about the lack of powers they have to deal with brothels under the Sexual Offences Act 1956. Officers want additional powers of arrest, entry and closure, as well as changes to the law to move the burden of proof to the defence in immoral earnings cases.

The report, *The National Vice Squad Survey*, by Cath-

## Kerb crawling fines

Squad	Level of average fine (£)
Leicester	25
Leeds	50
Plymouth	50
Northampton	50-75
Southampton	50-80
North Stamfordshire	100
Bournemouth	100
Middlesborough	100
Doncaster	100
Norwich	125
Westminster	150
Bradford	200
Coventry	200-300
Derby	200-300

ine Benson and Roger Matthews, found that the number of street prostitutes had dropped in most areas. On average, about 34 women worked each red light district. The number prosecuted had fallen from 9,196 cases in 1988 to 7,912 in 1993. Meanwhile, the number of kerb-crawlers prosecuted nationally had increased slightly, from 622 in 1988 to 857 in 1993.

The average number of street women arrested per squad was 334 a year, ranging from 2,315 in Westminster to none in Blackpool.

Half of the squads complained that they spent 50 per cent of their time doing paperwork after making arrests, and

the vast majority said they spent, at most, a quarter of their time patrolling the streets.

The officers said fines and arrests did not deter prostitutes. When asked what changes they would like, the majority called for the power of arrest to be applied to kerb-crawlers, as well as female prostitutes. Some squads, however, felt that the time had come for experimentation with what they saw as more liberal legislation - such as legalisation and alternative sanctions, such as community service.

One officer said: "The main problem is that there's no real deterrent. And the system just basically regurgitates them. They work because they've no money, they get arrested and fined, then to pay the fine they go back onto the street and round and round they go. It's just a rip in their earning capacity for that evening, or a form of taxation."

The research showed that some women were highly mobile and worked between different cities.

The powers to punish kerb-crawlers were widely criticised. Average fines were about £110, but in some areas, such as Leicester, they were as low as £25.

Officers considered the fines system at the discretion of magistrates as something of a lottery. This was reinforced by the view that even when substantial evidence had been gathered, the "unsupportive" nature of the judicial system made their efforts essentially a waste of time.

Officers complained that it was particularly difficult to prove a kerb-crawler had "persistently" approached a prostitute and was a "nuisance", as is necessary under current laws.

The report concluded that vice squads saw the need for an urgent review of existing legislation. The authors said: "There is a likelihood that more forces will move towards the informal toleration of these off-street establishments. In the long term, such a strategy could result in more extensive commercialisation of the trade."

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Clinton visit: Presidential entourage preceded by large teams of planners

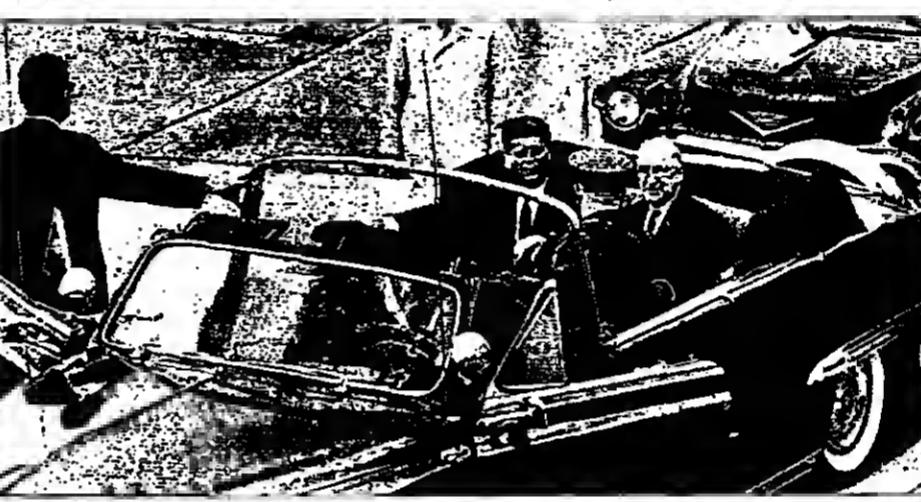


Local hero: President John F Kennedy leaving Cork City Hall during his visit to Ireland in June 1963 (above), and with then Irish Prime Minister Sean Lemass (below).

Ross, Wexford. It is, however, a bittersweet memory, since he met his death in Dallas only five months later.

Although President Clinton can be confident of a warm welcome, he can never hope to recreate the adoration and adulation afforded to JFK. As the first Catholic president of the United States,

Kennedy was an even greater hero in Ireland than elsewhere. His visit seemed to symbolise a new, outgoing mood in the Republic. Kennedy said: "If this nation had achieved its present political and economic stature a century or so ago, my great-grandfather might never have left New Ross."



## Britain's ghosts take to outdoor afterlife

Britain has more ghost sightings than any other country in the world - and the most spectacular apparitions are seen outdoors, according to a new study.

There is a theory that ghosts seen in old castles and deserted mansions are the product of fungal spores which can chemically stimulate ghostly hallucinations, according to *Country Living* magazine.

But what explanation can there be for the 40 per cent of sightings outdoors?

The magazine, investigating sightings around the country, divides outdoor ghosts into two main varieties.

The first is the communicative or interactive ghost which is both sensitive to people around and seems able to act under its own steam.

An example has been seen many times across Dartmoor - an enormous pair of hairy hands. Making their first appearance in the 1920s, they have been seen overturning pony traps, taking charge of motorists' steering wheels and clawing at caravan windows.

Ghosts in the second category are more believable. These have been described as paranormal rather than supernatural, perhaps generated by forces of nature unknown to us. Known as cyclical or imprint apparitions, there have been around 10,000 sightings.

They are like a small, 30-second reel of cine film projected on to the air showing someone or something long gone from the area and retained by some force we do not understand. Like celluloid itself, they tend to fade over time, having an average "life span" of around 400 years.

An exception is the oldest ghost in the United Kingdom, the horseman of Bottisham Down, in Dorset, who seems to date back to the Bronze Age about 2,500 years ago. He usually appears close to the A3081 between Cranborne and Sixpenny Handley, galloping along then vanishing without a trace.

One of the more outrageous is Sir Francis Drake, who hurtles across Dartmoor in a black coach drawn by four headless horses.

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Two symposiums will explain the application of the Galli reform bill and the EU Directive for the Mediterranean,

## US teaches Belfast lesson in security

DAVID MCKITTRICK  
Ireland correspondent

Although the authorities in Belfast are accustomed to mounting huge security operations, even old hands say they have seen nothing to match the preparations for President Bill Clinton's swing through the city.

With the President due to stay overnight in Belfast at the end of the month, large teams of advance organisers have been pouring in for many weeks and more are on the way.

The scale of the activity was such that it was at first thought the Belfast trip was something out of the ordinary, but it has now dawned that presidential visits are always preceded by what might be thought a surfeit of planning and organisation.

There is, however, keen Irish and American political interest in the occasion, since its purpose is to underline the identification of the President with the Irish peace process. He regards his involvement in Ireland as one of his foreign policy successes, and mentions it often in speeches on other subjects.

Gerry Adams, president of Sinn Fein, has said he hopes the visit will inject some momentum into a process which has for many months been deadlocked on the issue of arms decommissioning.

Sinn Fein is heartened by the fact that the Clinton administration has not endorsed the British demand for republicans to give up some arms before all-party talks are convened. Stopping short of this, Washington's line has instead been that all sides should talk seriously about decommissioning.

When the Clinton visit was announced some months ago, Washington's assumption was that talks would probably be under way by now. Since there

is no chance of this happening by the end of the month, American sights have been lowered. Now it seems the most President Clinton can hope for is to visit a city which is still at peace.

Detailed preparations for the visit began a month ago with the arrival of a large "site survey team" which chartered a coach and drove all over Northern Ireland inspecting places for the president to visit. Accompanied by British government officials in the group, which included specialists in communications, security and media facilities and transportation, looked at 30 sites in three days.

Just over a week ago these were followed by a "pre-advance team" which re-examined some sites and looked at other possibilities. Two weeks from now the actual "advance team" is expected, and only then will arrangements be finalised.

By that stage dozens of possibilities will have been eliminated and a firm itinerary settled for the one-and-a-half-day visit: the US secret service officers have a saying that on the day "everything will collapse into place".

The presidential entourage will be huge, consisting of hundreds of people; his motorcade will contain 30 vehicles. Hotel accommodation in Belfast is already heavily booked, with up to 500 members of the US press corps expected to follow President Clinton. After Belfast the president is due to travel to Dublin.

During his stay he is expected to meet local political leaders, including Mr Adams.

The possibility is that he will host a "revolving reception" so that opposing political leaders need not come into contact with each other. It is also highly likely that he will visit Londonderry to meet the SDLP leader, John Hume.

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# Andreotti faces murder trial

ANDREW GUMBEL  
Rome

The former Italian prime minister, Giulio Andreotti, already on trial for criminal involvement with the Sicilian Mafia, was indicted yesterday on the separate and even more damaging charge of ordering the murder of an investigative journalist who had been threatening to reveal some of his darkest political secrets.

Mr Andreotti, the *eminence grise* of the postwar Christian Democrat establishment and Italy's best-known politician abroad, was ordered to stand trial on 2 February along with five other suspects for the killing of Mino Pecorelli, a Rome-based magazine editor who was shot in the head twice at close range outside his offices on 20 March 1979.

According to the prosecution, Mr Andreotti, at the time serving the fifth of his seven stints as prime minister, asked his friends in the Sicilian Mafia to arrange the murder because he was afraid of the potentially damaging revelations that Pecorelli might make about his activities during the kidnap and murder of a fellow Christian Democrat and former prime minister, Aldo Moro, by the Red Brigades in 1978.

Among Mr Andreotti's co-defendants will be two Cosa Nostra chieftains, Pippo Calò and Gaetano Badalamenti, the two gangsters accused of actually carrying out the crime, Michelangelo La Barbera and Massimo Carminati, and one of Mr Andreotti's closest political allies, the former magistrate and foreign trade minister, Claudio Vitalone.

The case is based almost wholly on the revelations of six

mafiosi who have turned state's evidence, including the first and most important of the Cosa Nostra supergrasses, Tommaso Buscetta.

The judge presiding over the preliminary court ruled yesterday that the accounts of the six tallied sufficiently to provide a coherent basis to proceed.

Lawyers for Mr Andreotti and Mr Vitalone, however, described the admission of their evidence as a "death knell for justice" and "a web of accusations based on stories that have been cooked up and recoked". Rumours have been swirling for years that the Christian Democrat leadership, including the faction led by Mr Andreotti, allowed Moro to be killed, because he represented a threat to their party interests and because he favoured a political coalition with the Communist Party.

Pecorelli had several sources in the intelligence services which he used time and again to embarrass the Christian Democrats in his magazine, *Op. Inevitably he made many enemies, and acquired a reputation for obtaining information by blackmail.*

One of the prosecution's difficulties will be to prove that he had indeed dug up compromising information about Mr Andreotti, since he took his secrets with him to the grave. There is also a problem with the witnesses, since the two members of Cosa Nostra with whom Mr Andreotti is alleged to have had direct contact, the cousins Nino and Ignazio Salvo, are both now dead.

The defence will concentrate on knocking the credibility of the Mafia turncoats, as it is doing at Mr Andreotti's other trial, which began in Palermo on 26 September. Its biggest liability in both cases is likely to be Mr Andreotti himself, whose statements are often hard to believe, if not downright contradictory.

Earlier this week Mr Andreotti said he had had only two contacts with Pecorelli, once when the journalist asked him for advice on combating headaches, and again in a letter of condolence when Mr Andreotti's mother died. Both episodes seem very odd for two otherwise unacquainted men.



Prime suspect: Mr Andreotti being escorted to court in Perugia for questioning over the 1979 murder of a journalist, Mino Pecorelli

# international

## Walesa fights for presidency

ADRIAN BRIDGE  
Warsaw

Polish voters yesterday faced a perplexing choice between 13 different candidates in the first round of presidential elections.

The list included two former prime ministers, the head of the central bank, a veteran dissident, a beer lovers' campaigner and a popular comedian. Only two candidates, however, were given much of a chance of getting through to the run-off in two weeks time: Aleksander Kwasniewski, a reformed Communist, and Lech Walesa, the incumbent and former leader of the Solidarity trade union.

Mr Kwasniewski, the front runner, was buoyant as he voted in the wealthy Warsaw district of Wilanow. He was adamant that a vote for him would not mean a return to Communism. "Communism is a thing of the past. There is no sense in its coming back," said the former sports minister in Poland's last Communist administration who now describes

himself as a Social Democrat. "Poland has moved on. We are successfully building democracy and the free market and whoever is elected president should defend these successes."

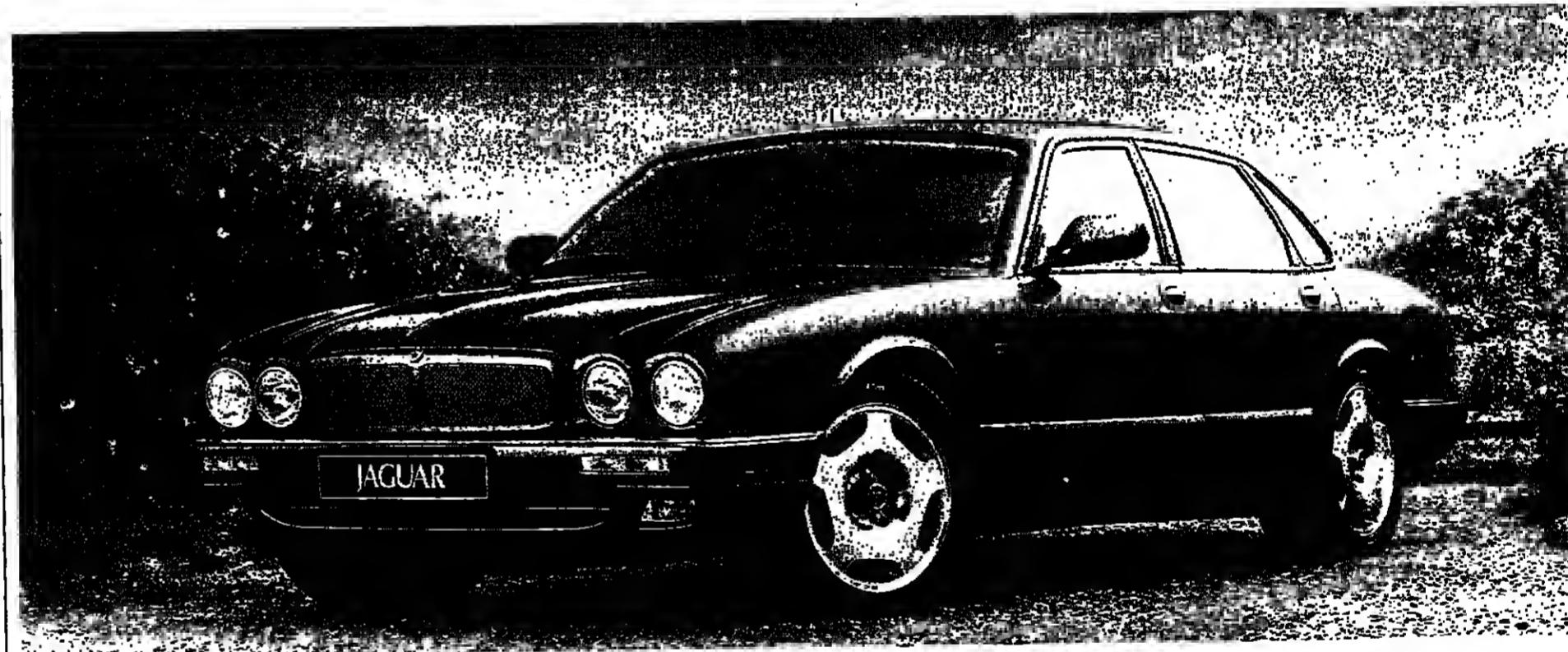
Mr Walesa has based his campaign on the deep apprehension many Poles feel about Mr Kwasniewski and his Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) party holding too much power. The SLD is already the dominant force in parliament and the government and controls many local administrations.

In addition to Solidarity, Mr Walesa has won the backing of the Catholic Church, which is terrified that a Kwasniewski presidency could lead to a curtailment of its influence.

In his first five-year term, Mr Walesa was criticised by many of his former allies for being impulsive, power-hungry and lacking the education appropriate for such high office.

Opinion polls suggest that most Poles will probably vote for Mr Walesa to keep Mr Kwasniewski out.

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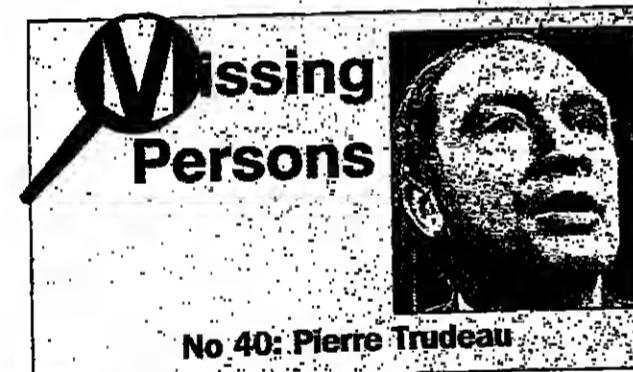
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DON'T DREAM IT. DRIVE IT.

385

## Old roué whose vision of Canada was a bit blurred



No 40: Pierre Trudeau

When his dream of an integrated, plural, and non-discriminatory Canada died on referendum night at the hands of his fellow French-speaking Quebecers, Pierre Elliott Trudeau had, in effect, gone fishing.

A politician who towered over the half-century since the Second World War, he quietly celebrated his 76th birthday last month. He was prime minister for 16 years, remains active as counsel to a large Montreal law firm, promotes international trading and investment deals, and has a book on foreign policy coming out this month. But when it came to the referendum, Mr Trudeau announced he was getting out of town.

Liberals and former colleagues urged him to sit this one out, because his vision is now seen as anathema to many young Quebecers.

Even so, his past deeds were never far from voters' minds.

The Bloc Québécois leader, Lucien Bouchard, managed to rekindle old resentments about the purported "humiliation" of Quebecers in 1982. Mr Trudeau, with the support of nine provinces, but against the wishes of the separatist Quebec government of the day, had "patronized" the Canadian constitution from Westminster and introduced a Charter of Rights.

The separatists focused criticism on the past role of the present Prime Minister, Jean Chrétien, as Mr Trudeau's minister of justice and one of his principal allies. But it was the former prime minister's notion of the nature of Quebec society that took more of a beating than his constitution last week.

Rather than build walls around the province to protect its language, religion and culture, Mr Trudeau said Quebecers would prosper most by playing a strong role in the whole of Canada, in Ottawa. He also created a bilingual civil service, and engineered the machinery of the national government to operate in both languages equally.

His successor as prime minister, Brian Mulroney, struck a deal with Quebec, and several

Hugh Winsor

## international

# French seek extradition of bomb suspects from UK

MARY DEJESKY  
Paris

The French judicial authorities were yesterday preparing to request the extradition of two Algerians detained in central London on Saturday under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. They believe one of the men, Abdelkrim Benouïs, alias Abou Farès, commanded the terrorist cells responsible for recent bomb attacks in Paris and Lyons.

The other was said by a French radio station to be Farouk Deneche, the brother of Abdelkrim Deneche, whom the French tried unsuccessfully to have extradited from Sweden last month in connection with the St Michel Métro bombing in July. Abdelkrim Deneche was freed from custody in Stockholm last week pending deportation from Sweden as an "undesirable alien".

Scotland Yard has refused to confirm or deny the identity of

the two men held at the weekend, who are being questioned at the top-security Paddington Green police station in west London, or to give any details. French reports said the two were arrested on Saturday afternoon after several days of surveillance, as they were preparing to leave the country.

Mr Benouïs had been named in French media reports the previous day as the commander and possible paymaster of the Paris-based co-ordinator of the bombings. He has lived in London since being granted political asylum in 1993 and edited the British edition of an Islamic newsletter, *Al-Ansar*.

It is not known whether the British authorities knew, when they granted asylum, that he had been sentenced to death in absentia for his presumed role in the 1992 Algiers airport bombing, in which nine people were killed.

French reports say that Mr Benouïs, who has had at least

three aliases, was the recipient of regular telephone calls from Paris made by Boualem Benouïs, one of 10 people detained by French police last week. The number of Mr Benouïs's mobile phone is also said to have been found in notebooks belonging to Khaled Kelkal, the Algerian killed by police after a three-week manhunt in September.

Kelkal became a wanted man after his fingerprints were allegedly found on a bomb which failed to explode on the high-speed train line near Lyons in August. French sources now say that Mr Benouïs's fingerprints were found on that bomb, too, and on the remains of the bomb which exploded at Maison Blanche Métro station in Paris on the day of Kelkal's funeral. They also say that in Mr Benouïs's Paris flat police found quantities of sodium chlorate – one of the explosive agents common to the Paris and Lyons bombs – detailed maps and

timetables of the Paris and Lyons Métro and railway networks, an automatic pistol and foreign bank documents.

The identification of Mr Benouïs and the "London connection" by the French media followed several weeks of criticism from French officials about what they saw as Britain's lax approach to the activities of Islamic fundamentalists.

Saturday's arrests were accordingly greeted in Paris with a mixture of "we told them so" and condescending approval that the British authorities appeared to be acting on pledges of a harder line given to President Jacques Chirac in London 10 days ago.

However, French reports also noted that the Paris investigators needed to make out a better case for the extradition of Mr Benouïs than they had for the extradition of Mr Deneche from Sweden. Otherwise, they warned, they could face similar embarrassment.



Flying the flag: Chechens demonstrate on bullet-ridden Presidential Palace during a rally in Grozny. The building was badly damaged by Russian forces early this year when used as a rebel stronghold

Photograph: Reuter

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## IN BRIEF

### Starvation looms in typhoon's wake

**Manila** — The Philippines appears to have gone through a "miniature war" with the passage of super-typhoon Angela, which killed more than 370 people and left some areas without food and drinking water, a senior government official said. The spectre of starvation loomed over the affected regions as village heads and rescue workers reported how winds and currents of water had swept away people, livestock, houses and ready-to-harvest crops. *Reuter*

### Boost for Gramm's flagging campaign

**Washington** — Senator Phil Gramm gained some encouragement for his flagging Presidential campaign with a win this weekend in a straw poll of Republicans in Maine, writes Rupert Cornwell. Senator Gramm, stuck in single figures in the polls, won 602 votes, almost double his closest rival, Senator Richard Lugar of Indiana. Bob Dole, the Senate majority leader came third, followed by Senator Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania.

### Ciller wins vote of confidence

**Ankara** — Turkey's Prime Minister, Tansu Ciller, won a vote of confidence, bringing a pause to six weeks of political turmoil that will cause an early election next month. Parliament voted 243 to 171 for her coalition government, intended to serve until the poll. *AP*

### Nobel Prize winner's nephew snatched

**Guatemala City** — The 22-month-old nephew of the Guatemalan Nobel Peace winner, Rigoberta Menchu, was kidnapped by two unidentified gunmen who snatched the baby, Juan Carlos Velasquez Menchu, from the arms of his sister Cristina and sped off in a jeep with tinted windows. Ms Menchu said she suspected the motive was political. *Reuter*

### Kashmiris want freedom, not autonomy

**Srinagar** — Kashmiris vowed to boycott next month's state legislative election, saying the government's promise of autonomy is inadequate and they want independence. In the rest of India, opposition politicians criticised the Prime Minister, PV Narasimha Rao, for not consulting them before making the election announcement on Saturday. *AP*

### Landmine kills Tajik woman

**Dushanbe** — A woman was killed when a land mine exploded in a park in Tajikistan's capital. Police said it was apparently planted by radical opposition members to thwart celebrations of the anniversary of Tajikistan's new constitution. *AP*



Villagers in eastern Bicol region carry away a victim killed during flash-floods caused by Typhoon Angela

## How to become a proofreader

By Trevor Horwood

Do you envy people who love their jobs? I did too, so a few years ago I looked for a way to combine my love of books with the need to earn a living. I was a successful sales manager, so I needed something that paid well.

I discovered that every year

thousands of new titles are

proofread and copy-edited by

freelances working from home

throughout the country. I also

discovered that neither a qual-

ification in publishing nor a pub-

lishing background was neces-

sary to become a freelancer.

Today I earn over £20,000 a year

as a freelance proofreader and

copy-editor, and I love every

minute of it. My only problem

now is deciding which assign-

ments to accept since I am regu-

larly offered more work than

I can cope with.

Sounds simple, doesn't it? Well,

it wasn't! I had to do a lot of

research on the way, identifying

potential sources of work...

learning the language of pub-

lishing jargon... discovering

through trial and error the best

way to proceed... and, hardest

of all, how to break into the

world of freelancing.

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assignments.

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and their addresses is also

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advice will enable you in

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and maximize your chances of success.

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## international

**Commonwealth Conference:** Abacha will get most brickbats, but Major can expect censure for defending French nuclear tests

# Angry partners put Britain in dock

STEVE CRAWSHAW

The Queen has already arrived, after travelling on a common-or-garden first-class plane ticket for the first time in her life. John Major arrives on Wednesday for talks with New Zealand's Prime Minister, Jim Bolger. Then on Friday the Main Event begins.

The Commonwealth Conference, which is being held in Auckland until next Monday, has a mixture of the good, the bad and the controversial on its agenda. First comes the historic, feel-good part. The conference – the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, known as CHOGM, to rhyme with "flog 'em" – will sound fanfares for Nelson Mandela, who is attending his first summit as South African leader.

The Commonwealth prides itself that it helped play a role in helping South Africa on the path to democracy. There is no mistaking the pride of the Commonwealth secretary-general, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, that South Africa was so quick to rejoin the organisation which the apartheid government had swept out of in a huff. Mr Mandela applied for renewed South African membership only a fortnight after his inauguration as President last year.

South Africa's return to the fold is seen as a double victory marking not only the triumph of non-racial democracy but a confirmation of the importance of the Commonwealth itself. South Africa, once the ultimate pariah, looks set to become one of the most important members in the club.

What began as a post-imperial association has become a mutual-support group for democracy and development, this week.



Still loyal: The Queen walking past a royalist placard held by a member of 'Al's Imperial Army' in Wellington

Photograph: Nigel Marple/Reuters

Officials emphasise that the Commonwealth is not a rule-based organisation. The possibility of threatening Nigeria with expulsion is remote. Equally, however, the Harare declaration, which was signed at the Commonwealth conference of 1991, spelled out a commitment to democratic norms. The Harare declaration now serves

as a kind of Commonwealth touchstone.

The revolutions that toppled Communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe had the knock-on effect of weakening one-party regimes elsewhere. Africa ceased to be a proxy battleground for the Cold War, where dictators could enjoy being propped up by Moscow or Washington as honoured representatives of "socialism" or "the free world". Now, in Mr Anyaoku's words, there are "only" three military regimes still in place: in Sierra Leone, Gambia and Nigeria. Mr Anyaoku sees one of the aims of the Commonwealth as being to help the "democratic ethic to take root".

Despite the controversies, the Commonwealth can afford to remain upbeat, not least because a queue is forming to join. South Africa's new membership may be the first in a long line. Cameroon need have no fear of being declared redundant, not while its members still see it as an anchor of stability in an unstable world.

## Third World fears future without Lomé

Port Louis, Mauritius — When the European Commission discovered that about 30 of its civil servants were due to travel to Mauritius for Saturday's signing of a new European Union trade and aid pact with 70 of the world's poorest countries, it ordered an inquiry.

Asked why it was essential for them to make the trip, most said they believed it was important to show solidarity with the developing world.

Just as this explanation failed to convince the higher-ups in the Commission – only seven officials made the trip – Europe is failing to convince its former colonies in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific (ACP) that it is committed to solidarity with their struggle against poverty.

The Lomé Convention was renewed for five years on Saturday amid fears that with Europe's changing strategic interests, the special relationship will not survive beyond 2000.

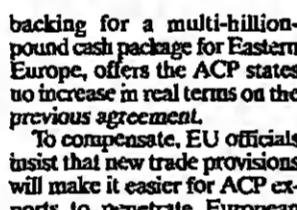
Designed originally as a life-support mechanism for the for-

mer colonies of Britain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium and Portugal, the agreement offers more than £12bn in aid over the next five years. More importantly, it provides better trade terms than those offered to other Third World exporters in Asia or Latin America.

However, as guilt for the colonial past subsides and the EU's preoccupation with its commitments in Central and Eastern Europe increases, the developing countries fear they could be facing a future without Lomé.

Revising the pact took 15 months; the negotiations were overshadowed by a bitter squabble among EU countries over the size of their contributions to the aid budget. Britain wanted to slash its donation by 30 per cent.

The new aid deal, agreed only after Germany secured



Jugnauth: Ex-imperialists are rapidly losing their interest

more important than aid to all the poorest countries.

The Mauritian Prime Minister, Anerood Jugnauth, says the bruising round of negotiations was an eye-opener. The end of the Cold War and the loss of any strategic stake in Africa, he said, explains Europe's "fast fading" interest in the relationship. "We are witnessing a growing movement towards the marginalisation of the South as the focus of the European Union's geo-

political interests seems to be increasingly directed towards other regions of the world."

The British Government says its priority is to maintain bilateral relationships in the developing world rather than bolster a Brussels-managed agreement which is inefficient, badly administered and unworkable.

Brussels officials, too, are prepared to concede that Lomé as a development instrument is running out of steam and that thoughts should be turning to a new model.

Changes in world-trade rules will ultimately render the agreement's trade preferences illegal. The Lomé Convention enjoys a waiver from the rules of Gatt but beyond the year 2000 that may not be renewed by the World Trade Organisation.

"Geographically and economically so many things have changed," said Joao de Deus Pinheiro, EU commissioner for relations with the ACP. "We must look at the convention with new glasses."

Despite the controversies, the Commonwealth can afford to remain upbeat, not least because a queue is forming to join. South Africa's new membership may be the first in a long line. Cameroon need have no fear of being declared redundant, not while its members still see it as an anchor of stability in an unstable world.

reports that the former

colonial power might join.

Mr Anyaoku says the Commonwealth can still expand, though its "special qualities" must remain. Certainly, the Commonwealth need have no fear of being declared redundant, not while its members still

see it as an anchor of stability in an unstable world.

In 1993 the European Council of Ministers decided to consider arms sales to Nigeria on a case-by-case basis, but many have got through.

The report points out that European states are still allowed to sell arms to the Nigerian police, which has suppressed pro-democracy demonstrations. In June the Government issued licences for CS gas and rubber bullets to be exported. Last year the Government issued 30 licences for non-lethal equipment, which could include components for tanks and missiles.

About 20 licences were granted for goods on the "Military List", including machine-guns, bombs, missiles and mines.

In the last two years, France has sold Nigeria armoured re-

connaissance vehicles and Aus-

troop carriers. Niger has re-

ceived military trucks from Ger-

many, artillery from Italy and howitzers from Sweden. Non-EU countries have also sold arms. Mr Truscott said: "We must exert maximum pressure to secure a total ban on arms sales to the regime, which is flouting human rights on a massive scale."

## Karadzic praises US role in Bosnia talks

Belgrade (Reuters) — The Bosnian Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic, said he believed Yugoslavia peace talks in Dayton, Ohio would succeed, and welcomed the active role played by the United States.

In unusually conciliatory remarks made on Serbian radio, Mr Karadzic said the US-brokered conference should result in "the final establishment of peace in Bosnia". The Dayton negotiations were important because "they were initiated by the American side, which for the first time accepted and recognised the existence of the Serbian entity in Bosnia and the fact that Bosnia cannot survive as a unitary state".

Serbia's President, Slobodan Milosevic, is negotiating on behalf of the Bosnian Serbs, who lost large slices of territory to a Bosnian-Croat offensive this summer. The US talks, said Mr Karadzic, should involve the return of part of this territory.

Yesterday mediators were to hold more talks with rebel Serbs from the seven parts of the Bosnian Serbs, who lost large slices of territory to a Bosnian-Croat offensive this summer. The US talks, said Mr Karadzic, should involve the return of part of this territory.

Mr Milosevic, the Bosnian President, Alija Izetbegovic, and Franjo Tudjman of Croatia are studying a series of documents that international mediators hope will form the basis of a peace accord.

Mr Karadzic said previous peace conferences on ex-Yugoslavia had failed because they lacked US support. Asked why he had not gone to Dayton himself, he said, "It was not important who took part... We all think the same". Mr Karadzic has been indicted for war crimes by the international tribunal at the Hague and is liable to arrest if he leaves the country.

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## special report

As MPs debate Nolan today, lobbyists are rushing to recruit Labour's brightest brains, say Chris Blackhurst and Nicholas Timmins

# Everybody wants to know Tony Blair

Plenty will be said in the House of Commons about the lobbying industry later today. As MPs debate Nolan and the disclosure of their outside earnings, Labour backbenchers will not rest, having a go at Tories' links with the likes of Ian Greer, GJW, Westminster Strategy, Westminster Communications and the other specialist parliamentary consultancies.

For many Labour MPs, lobbying is a dirty word. That, at least, is the public face. In truth, the party and the lobbyists are moving closer and closer together as the election nears. Whereas once Labour would have been ignored, now lobbyists bang on to the party's every word.

The annual conference this year in Brighton was awash with representatives from all the leading lobbying firms. Lowe Bell, home of Sir Tim Bell, once Margaret Thatcher's image-maker, broke with years of tradition and even held a reception there: some of the biggest names in business, such as Lloyd's of London, NatWest and Littlewoods, were happy to sponsor events on the Labour fringe. Midland Bank sponsored a crèche, while Sainsbury's and British Airways held receptions.

MPs, particularly post-Nolan, may be sensitive about linking up with lobbyists, but many party workers and researchers have no such qualms. They see lobbying as everything that it entails as a new career opportunity, seeking out jobs doing everything from monitoring events at Westminster and Brussels to briefing clients on forthcoming legislation and effecting introductions with ministers and officials. Prior to the 1992 election there were only two or three lobbyists who had recently worked for Labour - most notably Mike Craven, now managing director of Market Access, who had worked in John Prescott's office, and Tony Page at GJW, who had worked for John Cunningham. Labour's defeat in 1992 brought no rush to snap up ex-Kinnock advisers. Neil Stewart, who with Charles Clarke was one of Kinnock's key fixers, says the atmosphere was "distinctly hostile". He applied for jobs for which he believes he was plainly qualified and found himself without even an interview.

The change began with John Smith's CBI speech in September 1992 which began the rapprochement with business that the Kinnock era never really achieved. Mike Lee, a well-respected adviser to David Blunkett for almost five years, and Julian Eccles, a key cam-

paign co-ordinator in Walworth Road, moved across in 1993 to Westminster Strategy and Hill and Knowlton, respectively, two of the key players.

Meanwhile, outside the world of lobbying, the management consultants Booz Allen & Hamilton took on Wendy Alexander, one of Labour's brightest researchers in Scotland, with Andersen Consulting making the most dramatic capture by employing Patricia Hewitt, a key figure from the Kinnock era, who went to the company from the IPPR, the left-of-centre think-tank set up to help Labour break the mould of outdated policies. Margaret Hodge worked briefly for Price Waterhouse after she ceased to be leader of Islington council and before she became an MP.

The interest of management consultants in people with an inside knowledge of Labour has been followed over the past 18 months by the trickle of researchers and other Labour Party staff moving to lobbying firms turning almost into a torrent, though the quality of the people now employed by more than a dozen lobbying firms varies enormously.

For Labour workers, many of whom have existed for years on a relative pittance, the chance to earn a decent salary is difficult to resist. For many of them, as well, there is the realisation that come the election their chances of remaining near the action are diminishing. As far as the election is over, assuming that Labour wins, civil servants will then move in and only a handful of very senior people will be made special advisers in the new government.

"Some of the lobbying firms have bought themselves a pretty hum deal," one close observer of the scene said. "Recruiting former researchers to some of Labour's more obscure frontbenchers or MPs is hardly going to give their clients Gordon Brown's ear, however much it might make it appear that they have good Labour contacts."

Some, however, have been significant recruits for the lobbyists - notably Neal Lawson at Lowe Bell, who previously worked for Gordon Brown, Colin Byrne at Shandwick, who was Peter Mandelson's key lieutenant in the campaigns and communications department of Walworth Road, and David Gardner, architect of the highly successful outcome Labour achieved from the Boundary Commission review.

Other notable names who have gone into lobbying are Rex Osborn, political intelligence officer at Wal-

worth Road, Paul Wheeler, from Labour's election team, and Murray Elder, who was John Smith's chief of staff.

Mike Craven, of Market Access,

says the growth is entirely market-driven.

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may well form the next government.

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and they want to know how a Labour government may affect their business.

"It is sound business sense - and

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Charles Miller, of Public Policy

Unit, sums up the mood: "Everyone

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Labour policy and its implications.

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Labour was leading in the polls, it was

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Labour. Now they want to know what

Labour is going to do to us, what it

will cost us, what we should be thinking about. They are far better pre-

### Who's who on the lobby circuit

Lobby group	Ex-Labour employee	... worked for:
Market Access	Mike Craven Jan Kennedy Amanda Francis	John Prescott George Foulkes, Labour frontbencher Mo Mowlam
Westminster	Mike Lee	David Blunkett
Strategy	Rex Osborn	was chief political intelligence officer, Walworth Road, Labour headquarters
Shandwick	Colin Byrne	Labour chief press officer and deputy to Peter Mandelson when he was campaigns and communications director
Westminster Communications	Murray Elder	John Smith
Lowe Bell	Neal Lawson Tim Fallon	Gordon Brown Joan Walley, former transport spokesperson
GJW	Tony Page David Wilson Elizabeth Davies Stephanie Ayres	Jack Cunningham Jack Cunningham David Blunkett Andrew Faulds, backbencher
Ian Greer	Robbie MacDuff	Alan Roberts, former environment spokesman
Public Policy Unit	David Gardner Paul Wheeler	Labour local government and boundary commission specialist Election co-ordinator, Walworth Road
Connect	Gill Morris	Oonagh MacDonald, former frontbencher
GPC	Anne Norris	Walworth Road
Burston Marsteller	Philip Cole	Assistant London regional organiser
Hill and Knowlton	Julian Eccles	Campaign co-ordinator and assistant to party general secretary, Walworth Road
Granfield	Phil Kelly	Ex-editor of Tribune and former adviser to Michael Meacher
APCO	Stephen King	Labour agriculture researcher
Waterfront Partnership	Michael MacDonald	Policy unit, Walworth Road
Politics International	Jeanette Gould	Kevin Barron and John Smith

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Mike Craven, of Market Access, says the growth is entirely market-driven. "Business now thinks Labour may well form the next government. They want to know Labour's views, they want to know the personalities and they want to know how a Labour government may affect their business.

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Labour is going to do to us, what it

will cost us, what we should be thinking about. They are far better pre-

pared for a Labour government than they ever were in 1992."

Business, said Mr Miller, no longer wants to throttle Labour, but understand Labour. Lobbyists' wooing of the party, said Mr Miller, "has been pretty feverish for about a year. People we work for are realising it is better to work with a policy in gestation than to wait until it has gone through."

Lobbying consultancies are keen to get their political spread more balanced between left and right. "No one wants to be left holding the wrong baby," said Mr Miller.

Colin Byrne argues that what has been acquired from the more able recruits is not only Labour contacts, but also wider skills. "Where could you learn more about relaunches, crisis management and communication than working alongside Peter Mandelson in the Labour Party?" he says.

"I occasionally say to clients: 'you think you've got problems; you should

have seen Labour in the period after the 1983 election!'"

There is little sign, however, that the increase in lobbying in Labour's direction is resulting in Labour MPs taking or being offered paid consultancies. Mike Craven believes they will not take them. "It is culturally frowned on, anyway, in the Labour Party," he says.

"One or two have done it in the past. But it has never been regarded as the right thing to do, and at the moment it is going the other way, with Labour trying to redefine its relationship with the unions so that they sponsor the local party, not the individual MP."

In the post-Nolan atmosphere - with Shadow frontbenchers, for example, deciding to part with David Mellor, its only paid parliamentary adviser - recruitment of Labour MPs is even less likely. "If a company offers a nice steady consultancy to a backbencher, the press get on to it; then the company suffers as well as the MP," claims one public affairs consultant.

John Prescott and Mo Mowlam, their former advisers have joined the lobbyists

for the forthcoming trade and industry policy document.

Michael Meacher's office is similarly bombarded. "Because industry thinks Labour is set to win, it is pressing hard to lobby shadow ministers," said Mr Meacher's assistant.

"If I write to 25 organisations, I will receive phone calls the following day from 23," said Mr Meacher's aide. "That would not have happened a few years ago."

Likewise, if a Shadow spokesperson makes a speech, he or she can expect to have requests for copies almost immediately from three or four lobbying organisations. Again, that was not the case in the run up to the 1992 election.

Where once there was silence, now there is two-way dialogue. As the prospect of government looms, Labour and lobbying are not such dirty words after all.

In the office of Margaret Beckett, Labour's new trade and industry spokesperson, they well know what Mr Gray was talking about. "She has a tray full of invitations," said one of her staff, adding that it was growing daily, as companies wanted to talk to her about Labour's

### ... and business talks back

Robin Gray, from the Public Policy Unit, one of the leading lobbying firms, did not hear about the bus when he spoke at a private conference last month. Shadow frontbench spokespersons were already "run ragged" by invitations from lobbyists and their clients. Their diaries were virtually full. But if the audience of representatives from some of Britain's biggest companies, including British Aerospace and Cable & Wireless, wanted to get their messages across before the next election, now was the time to write.

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## Diary

RUTH DUDLEY EDWARDS



I was somewhat aggrieved, at first, to read that Keith Waterhouse and his pals had decided to keep the relaunch dinner of The Useless Information Society stag - on the grounds that women have no use for facts that are not of the slightest value to anybody.

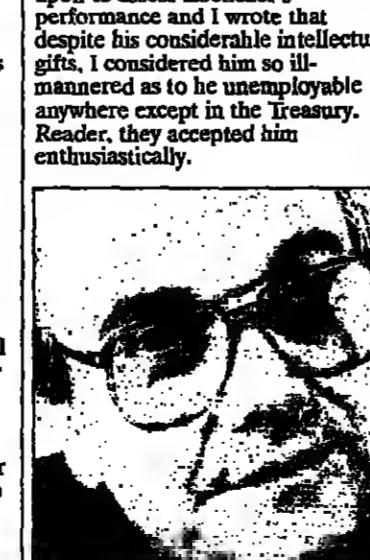
"Dummit," I cried. "Am I not a woman? And do I not know in chronological order the names of all Elizabeth Taylor's husbands?" But then I realised that Miss Taylor might find that litany useful should she write her autobiography, so it didn't qualify.

In bed that night I tried and tried to think of a piece of wholly useless information and fell asleep from sheer boredom. So fair enough, Keith. You may be right. I, at least, will not be leading a protest march or complaining to the Equal Opportunities Commission.

I squirmed a bit at a gentle rebuke from Vanessa Stern of Chichester and Bognor Regis Victim Support about my remarks last week on the help offered me over my burglary. She points out that such groups do not counsel, but give practical advice to people in need.

Of course, I applaud the volunteers who provide such support, but like some of my similarly crabby friends who fear the Californianisation of this once sturdy people, I am put off by the language they use. A voice on the phone saying, "Sorry to hear of your burglary. Are you OK or are there some practical problems with which we can assist you?" is one thing. But if having had some property stolen and the contents of drawers tossed around the house makes me a "victim" who has "suffered", what terminology will be appropriate if my limbs are blown off by a car-bomb?

A friend hacked me up by giggling about the experience of her father. In his time a war-hero, a businessman and an MP, who has



And lest they be rude, Terry Burns

Speaking of arrogance, the tenant of my affections would like you to know that a French restaurant which we

frequent has a wine list with a section called "Les Vins du Nouveau Monde", featuring wine from California, Chile, New Zealand and - wait for it - Spain.

I dimpled shyly at Hugh Mitchell's response to my request for verse to avenge the wrong President Clinton did me recently in baying Belfast cleaned out of transformers:

What are we to do about Ebenezer?" asked the rest of my staff after a few fitful nights.

"Break his legs," suggested the clerical assistant - to popular acclaim. Often I wished we could act on her advice, but instead we laboured on trying to enlighten him through example, constructive criticism and explaining through gritted teeth that to make enemies all around the department was counter-productive. Daily I wearily tried to repair the damage be- wreaked so effortlessly.

Ebenezer's natural boorishness was exacerbated by his distress at having been posted not to the Treasury, which he felt to be his natural home, but to what he used to explain to anyone who would listen was an inferior department full of mediocrities. Eventually I was called upon to assess Ebenezer's performance and I wrote that despite his considerable intellectual gifts, I considered him so ill-mannered as to be unemployable anywhere except in the Treasury. Reader, they accepted him enthusiastically.

# INDEPENDENT

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## A funeral in Jerusalem

**Y**itzhak Rabin was not a religious nor a sentimental man. But it seemed that after 27 years of waging battle he had adopted the line in Isaiah which speaks of comforting the prophet's people and crying out to Jerusalem that "her warfare is accomplished; that her iniquity is pardoned". His death at the hands of a young Jewish fanatic is a terrible blow to Israel's democracy. But it cannot reverse the gains that Mr Rabin achieved for his people, nor will it extinguish the desire to achieve a comprehensive peace between Israel and its Arab neighbours.

Soldier, politician, tactical hawk and strategic dove, Mr Rabin epitomised many of the contradictions that have beset the state of Israel since its foundation. He fought its wars as chief of staff and, as minister of defence, he ordered its debasing repression of the Palestinians. Mr Rabin was shrewd enough to recognise the difference between a fight for national survival and an occupation that served only to corrode the values of the occupier. He made the choice for peace, not out of naivety or opportunism, but because he saw it as the best way to ensure the security of the Jewish people. The missiles fired from Iraq during the Gulf war of 1991 taught Israelis that protection could no longer be purchased with a few extra miles of territory. They could choose between a permanent state of war or a risky peace, trading occupied land for political recognition. Mr Rabin had the courage, unenthusiastically, to make that decision and he was rightly honoured for it with the Nobel Peace Prize.

Now he has joined the late Anwar Sadat in the upper ranks of those who have paid with their lives for veering away from the purist doctrines of religion and conflict so dominant in Middle Eastern politics. Yet his assassination was an act that simply carried into real life all the vituperative rhetoric heaped upon him

ever since the Israeli right realised that its dreams of expansion lay in the dust.

From Binyamin Netanyahu of the Likud, and from its extreme fringes, there came ritual expressions of shock yesterday. They should have been expressions of shame. For too long the "respectable" Israeli right has pandered to its fanatical fringe, legitimising religious fanatics and zealots who spout racial filth about Arabs. These are paranoid minorities in Israeli society, ready even to cheapen the memory of the Holocaust by manipulating painful emotions for their own narrow ends. Theirs is a political culture of violence, hitherto exclusively directed at Palestinians. Now it has claimed an Israeli prime minister.

So let the period of mourning be a time for Mr Netanyahu, for the far right, for the Jewish settlers and their unthinking supporters abroad, to meditate on their future policies. The fact is Mr Rabin's achievement is irreversible without war. Israel will not go back into Gaza, nor retake the towns of the West Bank, nor consign the Palestinians once more to the limbo of a people without land or identity. With luck, firm nerves and concerted international support, Mr Rabin's successor should proceed to negotiate a withdrawal from the Golan Heights and from the martyred lands of south Lebanon. Peace treaties with Syria and Lebanon remain a worthy and attainable goal.

Yitzhak Rabin was denied the chance to see the fruits of his political courage but his funeral in Jerusalem today should not be seen as the end of his achievement. For it is he who has buried forever the possibility of an Israeli state maintained only by military might and sustained by a perversion of the Zionist ideal. Generations of the Jewish people still unborn, and even the descendants of his Palestinian foes, may yet render him their thanks.

## Say No to Nolan at your peril

**T**oday MPs should vote to accept the Nolan Committee's recommendation that they make public any earnings related to their parliamentary activities. Though it may be uncomfortable for MPs to let go their financial privacy, their whole credibility is at stake.

The Government and most Conservative MPs want to keep the financial affairs of backbenchers under wraps. They argue that, as long as MPs are not indulging in "paid advocacy" – furthering the interests of the companies that pay them by influencing legislation, and by lobbying other MPs and ministers – there is no risk for democracy. Paid advice, they say, is a matter of legitimate confidentiality between the individual and company concerned.

But Nolan was appointed to restore public faith in a parliament whose reputation is stained with sleaze. The "paid advocacy" argument fuels public suspicion, because it looks as if MPs are finding the kind of slippery escape route the public expects them to look for.

Voters anyway have a right to know exactly how much "paid advice" by their representatives is worth. Backbenchers who sit dinners at the House of Commons so that company executives can impress prospective clients are retailing the offcuts of power. All very well, if com-

panies want to pay for it. But we should certainly know how much is being paid, because MPs are selling something they do not strictly own. They are in a position to sell such things only because voters elected them, and they cannot therefore hide the proceeds from their electors. An MP's access to power and enjoyment of privilege is given in trust through the ballot box.

Of course, this is an uncomfortable process, given that the British are almost as bashful about money as they are about sex. But top executives of public companies answer to shareholders and have recognised the need for fuller accountability. Anyone who exercises the kind of power in which the public are expected to place their trust should be willing to fall within the net. If MPs, why not judges and senior police officers? If utility bosses, why not television interviewers and, God bless us, newspaper editors?

Nolan represents an opportunity. To reject the recommendation of an outsider brought in to lend independent credibility to the attempt to clean up public life would be to undermine the whole exercise. If MPs want to continue under suspicion of sleaze then they should say No to Nolan. If they want to mend public confidence, they should vote today to flip their pocket-books open.

ANOTHER VIEW Claire Rayner

## An exposure of prurience

**T**he case of Julia Somerville appalls me. The more I think that anyone with serious intentions of taking pornographic photographs of their children would then send them to Boots The Chemist for processing so ludicrous it is bizarre – it is like a scenario out of the worst kind of television comedy show.

What is the world coming to if we react to the nudity of small children with such disgust and suspicion? Even in a sexually explicit age, children's nudity is an innocent thing, celebrated quite rightly by parents proud of their children's beautiful bodies. There is no erotic content in the sort of pictures taken by parents every day – and the innocent sight of babies' bottoms is used on our television screens to sell nappies without anyone being arrested and questioned by Scotland Yard. When I look through my family's photograph album, I see pictures of my children nude on the beach, in the bath, in the garden. I would guess that there isn't a parent in the country who hasn't got similar pictures.

We currently seem to have difficulty in recognising the difference between healthy, natural nudity and sexual display. *Pride and Prejudice* was a huge hit recently – yet it contained having almost-naked bodies in every other shot. No one complained about that – it is only nakedness that seems to upset people. Clothes, in fact, can be far more worrying than nudity. The sight of a three-year-old girl dressed for the beach in a bikini top, spe-

ing adult sexuality is surely obscene. Yet pictures like that would presumably not raise a flicker in the fundamentalist photographic processing department department at Boots The Chemist.

Parents must not play along with this sort of hysteria. It runs against all normal human instincts, and must be resisted. It reminds me of the moral panic that persuaded social workers that Satanic abuse was sweeping the country – and all the suffering to families that ensued. I feel desperately sorry for Julia Somerville who, despite being in the public eye, has always maintained her dignity and her privacy. How offensive this must be to her, and how devastating that her children have been named in the papers and will surely be teased and questioned at school on Monday. I hope Ms Somerville will sue Boots and the police for the distress caused to her whole family.

As for the rest of us, there is a simple way that parents can make a stand against this kind of behaviour. We mustn't fall into the trap of over-caution, of being afraid to act naturally with our children for fear of being carted off to Scotland Yard. Tonight I hope every parent in Britain takes pictures of their beautiful children in the bath, and floods Boots' department of prurient processing with them. That is the proper response to idiocy of this kind.

The writer is a former agony aunt, a broadcaster, journalist and novelist.



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Rabin: the high price of peace

*From Rabbi Walter Rothschild*  
Sir: One can only condemn the brutal assassination of Yitzhak Rabin. A veteran of many wars, he was also a man of vision who could see the prospects for peace and was prepared to pay a high price for it, if necessary. But this price was too high. A terrible, cowardly blow.

Those of us outside Israel can only watch, helpless, as those who seem to prefer a continuation of violence and hostility do all in their power to delay or thwart the peace process. This particular attack, coming moreover from Jewish opponents of that process, has been a grievous and tragic setback.

We must hope that Mr. Rabin's mission will nevertheless reach fruition – for the alternative would be continued war, continued bloodshed, continued misery. And we know from history how terrible and pointless this can be.

*Zecher Tzaddik Livrachah – May His memory be a Blessing.*  
Yours faithfully,  
WALTER ROTHSCHILD  
Leeds  
4 November

*From Ms Deborah Pritchett and Mr Jonathan Regal*  
Sir: When Jewish blood is shed, every Jew mourns. What brought

us into existence, in 1948, as a people with a homeland was a unity and passion for the religion. We made ourselves a people and a nation, Israel became our crown and power. By the power that we have been given, we have built ourselves. It is Israel, through its deep divisions, that hide the young Jew to kill his leader, and our leader.

What Jew could act against his own laws, except the Jew who has no religion, but faith in a political whim. This whim has spat upon our dreams. It has spat upon our law. In its disregard for life, it has spat upon the essence of Judaism. What is it that makes a young man so bold as to spit at peace and at his leaders?

When Theodore Herzl, the leader of Zionism, said, "I am at the head of only boys and beggars ... with dreams", could he have believed that the heggar boy would come from Israel's own ranks to spill the blood of another Jew in the overturned glasses of anti-Jewish, anti-Israeli men, laughing at Israel's humiliation at the bands of its lone gunman?

Yours faithfully,  
DEBORAH PRITCHETT  
JONATHAN REGAL  
Lemham, Kent  
4 November

### Mackay wants to save marriages

*From The Rev Fred Pritchard*  
Sir: Perhaps it is time for a minister, who has had some experience in 40 years of dealing with requests for marriage, including the second marriage of divorced persons, to say something about the present campaign to save the institution from the alleged attacks of the Lord Chancellor.

I have not yet heard a single argument from the opponents against Lord Mackay's contention that the proposed year's delay for mediation is more likely to help strengthen marriage than weaken it. Indeed, their so-called reasons sound suspiciously like an attempt to convince by persistent reiteration of ill-thought-out slogans.

As for the contention that the stability of marriage depends on being able to fasten fault: does anyone imagine that the breakdown of a solemnly entered relationship can happen without fault?

The difficulty is that in most cases there are faults on both sides, and the attempt by either party to fix all the blame on the other can only make a bad situation worse. Mediation, even if it fails to heal the breach, can prevent the bitterness getting worse.

It is not only politically correct

for those who can see the merits of Lord Mackay's proposals.

FRED S. PRITCHARD  
Newport, Gwent

3 November

*From Mrs Alex Howe*  
Sir: In suggesting that "women (and children) are [financially] hardest hit" by divorce, Helen Wilkinson (Comment, 3 November) demonstrates a dismal disregard for the fathers, who are seen by the Courts and the Child Support Agency merely as cash dispensers. Where is her acknowledgement of those men who have been manipulated out of their homes by women only too well aware of the anti-male bias of current legislation, and who exploit the system to their own advantage? Many fathers find themselves having to fight expensive legal battles for the right to contribute more than just money to their children, against an ex-wife receiving legal aid.

When is society going to acknowledge that women are individuals who must be required to accept certain responsibilities for their actions before using an indulgent legislation to claim "rights" they do not deserve?

All human beings are capable of making errors of judgement in relationships, and each situation will be viewed subjectively by its participants, but legislation must not destabilise marriage. It needs to facilitate a basically sound institution, which has been demeaned by many contributory factors, cost least the unwillingness to accept that marriage is a two-way street in which both partners must give as well as take.

Yours faithfully,  
ALEX HOWE  
Hove, East Sussex

3 November

### Sweet memories

*From Mr Ken Farnhill*  
Sir: I can confirm Alexi Sayle's experience (Section Two, 31 October) of the different taste of KitKats destined for other, particularly sunnier, parts of the globe.

May I point out, however, that whatever Nestlé has done to the KitKat, and other hand names

under its control, the company cannot be regarded as KitKat's "creator". That honour belongs to Rowntree Mackintosh. Nestlé's main achievement, since taking over Rowntree, seems to be having made KitKat, Yorkie etc taste worse.

Yours faithfully,  
KEN FARNHILL  
Cambridge  
31 October

### Financial disclosure of MPs' 'consultancies'

*From Mr Bryan Greetham*  
Sir: With more than 100 MPs threatening to stand down at the next general election if they are required to reveal their earnings from "consultancies", the Government is desperate for the public to accept a subtle redefinition of the term. There is, therefore, an urgent need for clarity.

At the least culpable end of the spectrum, there are MPs who are members of trade unions and professions, or who campaign for voluntary associations without payment or reward of any kind. This is where the Government would like the debate to reside.

But this only serves to obscure influence at the other end of this spectrum of culpability, where MPs exploit their privileged position to line their own pockets by selling their influence for cash. This includes not just the one-off cash payments for various services, such as putting down questions, but, more significantly, it includes the activities of PR firms, including some set up by backbench Conservative MPs, which have mushroomed over the past 15 years and now, more than any other factor, are progressively damaging Parliament's reputation and destroying its moral authority.

Setting aside the interests of their constituents, MPs sell their influence in Parliament to the highest bidder. Influence has shifted to those who can pay the large sums demanded: the tobacco and drinks industries, the

multinational fast food companies, even the South African government as it desperately sought to stave off reform.

This influence exerted not on the basis of principle, but pecuniary interest. We should not be deceived. If MPs were prosecuted as witnesses, we would not object to the defence bringing to the attention of the jury the fact that they are being paid for their story.

Yours faithfully,  
B. GREETHAM  
Caldas de Monchique,  
Portugal

*From Mr John Paterson Paterson*

Sir: Many years ago I was a member of a county council. We were required to declare all our financial interests, and they were recorded. Moreover, we were not allowed to speak or vote on any matter in which we had an interest.

When any matter in which we were interested was under discussion, we formally declared it and left the chamber or committee room until we were invited back after the discussion was completed and the vote taken. This was required by an Act of Parliament, to ensure that we did not use our position as representatives for our own benefit.

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multinational fast food companies, even the South African government as it desperately sought to stave off reform.

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Yours faithfully,  
JOHN PATERSON PATERSON  
Gripenhall,  
Cheshire  
2 November

*From Mr Ernest Wood*

Sir: Conservative MPs say that, as we have no right to know what our neighbour earns, we should not expect to know what our MPs get either. But MPs are the servants of their constituents, who pay their salaries, and the constituents have every right – perhaps even an obligation – to know what their parliamentary representatives are getting on the side for doing things that have nothing to do with their constituency duties, but everything to do with their MP's personal advantage and that of the businesses who are paying them. If Conservatives are in Parliament to enrich themselves financially, then the voters have a right to know whether they are getting a few pounds for their trouble or thousands of pounds for selling themselves.

The claim that everything is changed because advocacy is being banned just will not do.

Giving advice instead of advocacy is splitting hairs. It is influence the MPs are really selling and that will be unchanged.

I do not think 100 Conservative MPs will need to resign if financial disclosure becomes mandatory. The voters will throw them out at the next general election for devoting themselves to paid outside interests, the fruits of which they tried to keep secret.

Yours truly  
ERNEST WOOD  
Okehampton, Devon  
2 November

*From Ms Jackie Cole*

Sir: I find Sir Paul Condon's letter (30 October) both flattering and distressing. Flattering because the Commissioner must obviously feel the addition of one full-time female representative would help to solve all the problems of harassment and discrimination within the Metropolitan Police. Distressing because what the Commissioner failed to mention in his letter was that this full-time position was offered as part of a package, along with an offer of full-time male representatives in return for overall reduction in federation representation. Because of this, the offer was totally unacceptable.

If Sir Paul would again make the offer of a full-time female representative, without imposing any conditions, this would be a welcome addition to the full-time representation and, as he points out, would greatly assist my colleagues who, on a daily basis, are reporting incidents of sexual harassment and discrimination from within the Metropolitan Police Service.

Yours faithfully,  
JACKIE COLE  
Metropolitan Police  
Representation  
Police Federation  
London, E14  
2 November

*From Mr Stephen J. King*

Sir: The plight of Julia Somerville [arrested over allegedly indecent photographs of her seven-year-old daughter] is unfortunately not unique. As the author of a research paper presented to the Home Office, The Law Society, and Scotland Yard on the "child porn" legislation (The Protection of Children Act 1978), I am aware of several cases in which the intervention of high-street photo-processing firms has led to police investigation, unwarranted publicity, and subsequent horrendous disruption of family life.

The problem with this law lies in its interpretation. There is no adequate interpretation of "indecent" photographs, and this leaves the door wide open for unscrupulous laboratory staff. It should also be mentioned that, of these prosecutions made between 1991 and 1993, about one-third resulted in acquittals or proceedings being discontinued.

JPH 10/10/88

## comment

# Riddled with corruption? I don't buy it

Driven by envy, public moral fervour over MPs and sleaze has made mountains out of molehills

Power corrupts, as we all know. But the converse is also true: impotence purifies. That is the point to bear in mind, whichever way today's vote on the Nolan report goes.

Labour, purified by 16 years in opposition, simply cannot lose. The public wants to hear what Mr Blair and his sidekicks will spend all day saying: the Tories have something to hide.

Yes folks: the Conservative Party is riddled with corruption. Every second MP is on the payroll of some dodgy "consultancy" firm or other, and the rest are available on a freelance basis. For the price of a decent lunch at Shepherd's and a cheque for £1,000, they will happily ask any question and table any motion. The worst excesses of the worst banana republic have got nothing on Mr Major's party.

Well, if you buy the idea of a Tory monopoly on sleaze, you'll buy just about anything. Need I do more than mention the names Stonehaven and Belcher? Or what about the Marconi scandal, which nearly wrecked the career of Lloyd George, that most radical of Liberals?

The same point would leap off the pages of a decent history of British local government. Indeed, growing up in Glasgow, I came to associate sleaze with certain Labour councillors who were hand in glove (with not to say related by blood and marriage to) certain building contractors.

Look abroad if you still cling to the notion of a unique nexus between sleaze and the right. In Belgium, in Spain and in France – to say nothing

of the outstandingly venal United States – corruption is a cross-party function of being in power. (In super-efficient Germany, as the Flick scandal revealed, some companies just dish out the dosh to all the major parties)

Only when you appreciate the link between corruption and power, do you begin to see how laughable the entire Nolan business really is. To me, the bizarre thing is that anyone should ever consider Tory MPs worth paying, in the way "exposed" by the *Sunday Times*. The plain fact is that MPs – and most junior ministers – do not really have power. Indeed, I almost feel sorry for anyone who has partied with hard-earned cash merely for some political opportunity to pose a question in the Commons. Did no one tell them about the transfer of power from the legislature to the executive?

The point is that there is only one sort of sleaze worth worrying about, and that is the sort involving ministers, or indeed civil servants. Put it this way, and you realise what a remarkably uncorrupt government we have had since 1979.

There have been sex scandals, of course. And yes, it seems likely – though we still await the Scott report – that ministers bent their own rules governing the sale of arms to Iraq. But it takes a peculiar sort of warped Puritanism to think that a man cannot run a government department simply because he likes to have it off in a Chelsea strip. And the worst conclusion to be drawn about Matrix Churchill is that, far from being in back to the arms

So why do companies bother paying for the services of hackneyed MPs? For much the same reason, it seems to me, that accountancy firms take would-be clients for games of golf, drug companies shower doctors with free stationery, journalists take contacts for liver-curdling lunches

and travel firms send journalists on skin-scoring holidays. Such transactions – some of which lead to reciprocal favours, but many of which do not – are simply what makes our world go round. And in a country in which the state spends the equivalent of about 40 per cent of GNP, it would be odd if such freshies and perks never came the way of MPs.

The notion implicit in Labour's line of argument – that MPs should only represent their constituents, should represent them all equally, and should live on nothing but their salary – is absurd.

Of course, not everyone is part of the Great Chain of Buying. Roughly one fifth of the population is "corrupted" in a rather different way, in the form of doles from the state itself. These are often the same people who pester MPs for improvements in the level of benefits to which they believe themselves to be entitled, and vote for the candidate who promises the biggest improvement.

In short, public enthusiasm for new Labour's rhetoric about Nolan is the snow-white tip of a grey iceberg of hypocrisy. Well, I for one am not prepared to join in. As it happens, I find myself in a position not dissimilar to that of MPs today. I am employed as a Fellow and lecturer at a university, for which I am paid even less than an MP. A substantial piece of my income comes from writing pieces like this.

As things stand now, that is a matter between me, my accountant and the taxman. But every now and then Blair-like

voices demand that we should all declare our outside earnings. The motive for this is clear: university bureaucrats want to get their hands on at least a proportion of what I and others earn "on the side". It has been argued that, because I am an employee of the university, all my income is in some sense the university's, to be taxed and redistributed as it sees fit.

Were such a measure to be introduced, I would be out of university life before you could say "something to hide". Even compulsory declaration of outside earnings would make me think twice. This would be a pity, because I rather like teaching, economically irrational though it is – just as I am sure many MPs like politics, though its opportunity cost is also high.

Why would disclosure of earnings worry me? Because, like the Tory MPs who have forced John Major to water down Nolan, I fear the envy of others. In other countries, to earn money from a variety of different sources is considered a sign of success. But even if everyone in the country were obliged to declare publicly their total earnings, the financial winners would be the moral losers.

I am not sure why envy is so powerful an emotion in this country. Perhaps it is the memory of wartime rationing. Perhaps it goes back to Puritan sermons about camels and needles' eyes. But the spirit of envy will be abroad today, in the House of Commons and in the country. Why not vote for the publication of all tax returns while you are at it, chaps?



NIALL FERGUSON  
The bizarre thing is  
that anyone should  
consider Tory MPs  
worth paying

The Jewish state believed in its unity. Patrick Cockburn analyses the tensions too strong to beat

# The day the Israeli dream died

The assassination of Yitzhak Rabin was the result of a gamble that failed. His government believed that by ignoring the extreme religious right-wingers who saw the peace process as a betrayal of Israel it could isolate and marginalise them. It made no effort to disarm them, despite their repeated threats that they would resort to violence.

The peace rally at which he died was a perfect illustration of the strategy. Tens of thousands of Israeli supporters of the peace process stood in Tel Aviv's main square, singing and chanting for peace. In a side street stood a huddle of right-wingers holding a placard promising "a rope for the

The assassination will sharpen the differences between the religious and the secular Jews

traitors". But it was a bullet, not a rope, that killed the "traitor" – and may have ended for ever the dream of Jewish unity that sustained the state of Israel for 47 years.

It is nation whose citizens come from scores of different countries, with a fragmented political system which gives influence to the tiniest of parties, where there are myriad tensions between the religious and the secular, the Ashkenazi (Eastern European) and Sephardi (Middle Eastern) Jews, between groups of immigrants and competing brands of Zionism. Israelis pride themselves on their tough, argumentative, macho natures, but until yesterday they believed the threat from outside would enable them to bridge any divisions within.

Mr Rabin's policy of marginalising his opponents almost succeeded. Right-wing demonstrations in recent months have been ill-attended. The 140,000 Israeli settlers in the occupied territories received only lukewarm support from Likud, the mainstream party of the right. The opponents of progressive Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank became increasingly desperate after Mr Rabin and Yasser Arafat, the chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, signed an agreement in Washington on 28 September that within a few months Israeli troops are to withdraw from the main Palestinian cities and the peace agreement will become irreversible.

Politicians and security officials saw there was a danger that the most extreme enemies of the peace process – and Mr Rabin's assassination was frequently predicted – Amir came within a few feet of him,



Yitzhak Rabin: he gambled and lost

chances of a repeat of last year's atrocity when Baruch Goldstein, a religious settler, slaughtered 29 Muslims in a mosque in Hebron. "The script was written," said Professor Ehud Sprinzak, an expert on the radical right at Hebrew University. "The potential assassins were there. Over the last week I have been worried sick. Rabin was shown in posters in an Arab kufiyeh [headdress] like Arafat, with his hands covered in blood. At a demonstration in Jerusalem there was a picture of him in SS uniform." The demonstration set the stage for assassination.

In mid summer the bodyguards around Mr Rabin and Shimon Peres were strengthened. But Yigal Amir, the assassin, was able to own a pistol and distributing anti-Rabin leaflets. Twice before this year he is said to have attended meetings addressed by the prime minister in the hope of making an attack. For all the forewarnings about violence – and Mr Rabin's assassination was frequently predicted – Amir came within a few feet of him,

despite the presence of 700 police. Perhaps they couldn't believe an Israeli Jew would ignore communal solidarity and kill their prime minister.

The assassination can only sharpen the deep differences in Israel between secular and religious Jews. The vast majority of Israelis are secular, but the religious are far more numerous than just the ultra-orthodox in their black bats and suits. Since the founding of the state, when some early Zionists dreamt of a secular socialist nation and others worked to build a country based on strict orthodox Judaism, the differences have been deepening as increasingly religious Israelis combined territorial nationalism with cultural exclusiveness.

The religious-secular tensions always shaped Israeli electoral politics. In 1977, Mr Rabin's first government was brought down because of religious protests over a ceremony to receive US fighter aircraft on the Sabbath. The three most famous acts of political violence by Israelis during the past 15 years were all carried out by

students from religious seminaries – a grenade thrown into a demonstration of Israelis against the invasion of Lebanon in 1982; Goldstein's massacre in Hebron and now the assassination of Mr Rabin.

How far has Amir succeeded in derailing the peace process? Yossi Sarid, a senior minister, said: "The prime minister has been assassinated, but the policies of this government have not been assassinated." Mr Peres, who has been more committed than Mr Rabin to the peace process but who is less popular with the electorate, becomes prime minister. Binyamin Netanyahu, Likud's leader, will tone down his opposition to withdrawal and Palestinian self-rule. To stand a chance of winning the next election, he needs to refute accusations that his overheated attack on Mr Rabin's government created the atmosphere in which the assassination took place.

This gives Mr Peres room to manoeuvre in the short term. He could even try to capitalise on the discrediting of the far right by holding a snap election in three months' time – though this could delay the withdrawal process. This would be a dangerous manoeuvre. Israel's divisions about Palestinian self-rule will not go away. In Mr Rabin the Labour Party has lost its best vote-winner. It will try to persuade voters that opposition to the peace process is a vote for the politics of Amir, but it may not succeed.

At the same time the agreements with the Palestinians have their own momentum, even if they are unpopular

draw, but they also do not want to face the alternative – which is to fight.

Many Palestinians are equally unimpressed. Israel will still have overall military control of the West Bank. But there is a deep desire to see Israeli troops withdraw, even if it is only to the edge of town. Mr Arafat may not have got Palestinians what they want, but he has won them more than they had before. His opponents have failed to mobilise popular support, despite the many failings of Mr Arafat's authoritarian government. Ordinary Palestinians do not believe there is an alternative policy. Leaders of Hamas, the largest extremist Islamic organisation, admit they are in disarray despite their campaign of Israeli bus bombings that has caused great anguish to the Jewish state.

The distress of the bus bombings, however great, was nothing compared to yesterday's shock of violence by one Jew against another Jew. Liberal Israelis were yesterday hoping the trauma would discredit the opposition to the peace process and the messianic religious zealots alike. Some settler leaders sounded abashed by the consequences of their rhetoric. But this is probably only temporary. The divisions that led to the assassination are too deep to be overcome. In the past, friction between Israel and the outside world masked – both to foreigners and to Israelis themselves – the deep tensions within the country, which on Saturday exploded into violence. Along with Mr Rabin will be buried the idea that Jewish communal solidarity makes Israel different and more united than other states.

by Tony Reeve and Steve Way

### Generation Why



# Sport defies the US game plan

My eye was caught by a headline in the *International Herald Tribune* the other day, saying: "British Miss Point of NBA Circus". I had no idea what this meant. So, of course, I read the story. That is why one reads foreign papers like the *Tribune* – to learn.

Indeed, several top basketball teams had arrived in London, sponsored by McDonald's, to stage a tournament. But not enough people had turned out to watch. So the *Tribune* had run a story saying that we British missed the point of basketball.

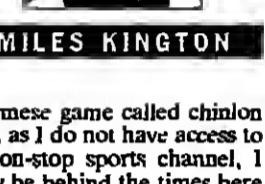
In fact, as the writer, Ian Thomsen, pointed out, basketball is already big on the Continent, so it is only the British, of the Europeans, who cannot see the point. The British seem to believe, says Thomsen, that basketball is essentially too easy, with goals dealt back and forth like cards from a deck.

On the other side of the ocean, World Cup or not, Americans scoff at the idea of soccer games with no scoring at all. But the British majority, who believe staunchly in the less-is-more of soccer, will probably grow used to fast breaks and alley-oops just like they have got used to Big Macs, car phones, "call-waiting" and multi-channel cable television.

It is not often you find a sportswriter using a column to score points off other cultures, and I feel almost inclined to defend the British here, until I realised that what Thomsen was doing was not attacking the British, but defending the Americans. The Americans have been desperate for many years to have one of their sports accepted abroad. They are conscious that there are games in the world like football, cycling and rugby which mean a lot to a lot of people except in America. They are aware that many games popular in the United States, such as golf and tennis, do not have American origins. They are conscious that the few games which are indigenous to America have never found favour outside. So when the British do not turn up to watch basketball, it irks them.

It irks them that the Americans have never managed to invent a game which has gone on to sweep around the world. American football ... baseball ... basketball ... cheer-leading ... ice hockey ... all of these have achieved a foothold outside the US, but have never really flourished away from the home belt. So, the Americans scratch their heads and look on amazed as the rest of the world persists in loving football, with its low scoring rate and sometimes no scoring rate.

They cannot see how any game which does not produce a lot of points, nor goals, nor



MILES KINGTON

Burmese game called chinlon but, as I do not have access to a non-stop sports channel, I may be behind the times here

Judging from Thomsen's list of things I am supposed to be used to, I certainly am behind the times. I have not got used to Big Macs, I hate Big Macs, I have not got used to car phones and multi-channel cable television.

And I am not even sure what "call-waiting" is. If, as I suspect, it is the unbearably smug woman, like a sort of female version of Michael Howard, who answers your telephone call with the message along the lines of "The person you have dialled knows you are calling but is talking to someone far more interesting, so you will have to wait a while, won't you?", then no, I have not got used to call-waiting and I personally would like to come round and grab call-waiting round the neck and strangle the living daylight out of call-waiting...

I am sorry, I have fallen prey to the temptation to score points off the Yanks. But at least it shows I'm wrong. There is one sport that originated in the US, to spread throughout the world and become played everywhere: America-bashing. It is an easy game, too high-scoring to be really significant, but it is still a lot of fun.

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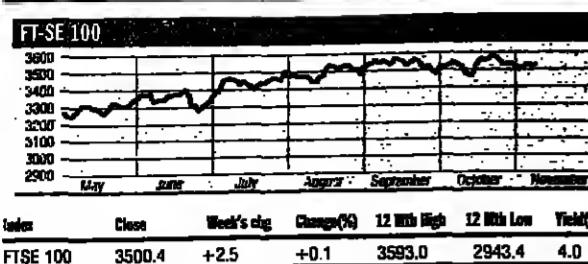
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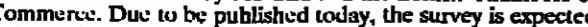
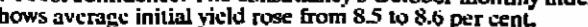
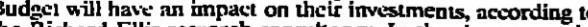
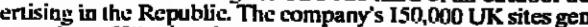
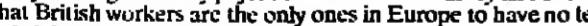
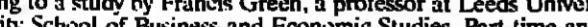
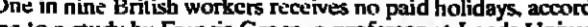
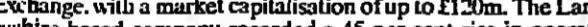
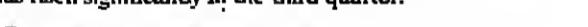
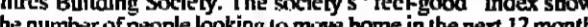
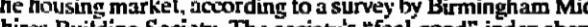
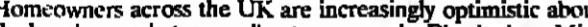
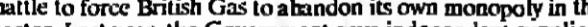
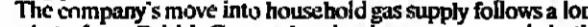
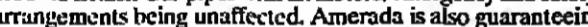
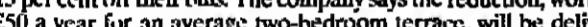
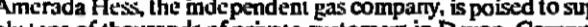
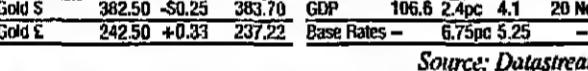
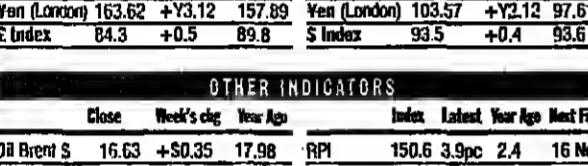
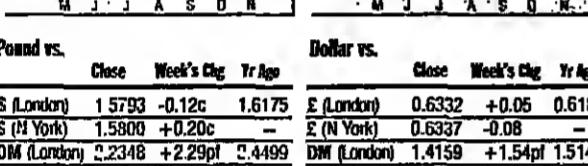
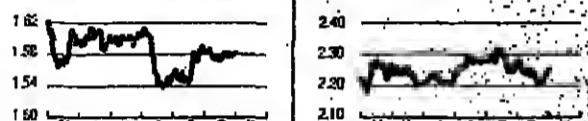
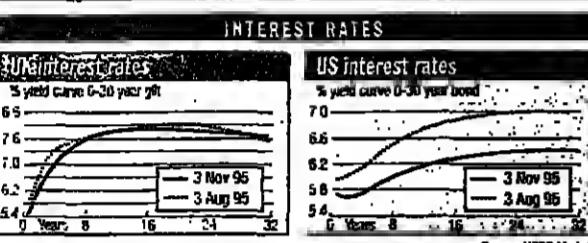
### STOCK MARKETS



Index	Close	Week's Chg	Change(%)	12 Wk High	12 Wk Low	Yield(%)
FTSE 100	3500.4	+2.5	+0.1	3593.0	2943.4	4.0
FTSE 250	3873.1	+9.4	+0.2	3961.3	3309.8	3.5
FTSE 350	1742.7	+1.9	+0.1	1785.3	1477.0	3.9
FT Small Cap	1939.3	-0.3	-0.0	1993.1	1678.6	3.4
FT All-Shares	1720.3	+1.7	+0.1	1757.6	1465.2	3.9
New York	4825.6	+83.8	+1.8	4825.6	3674.8	2.4
Tokyo	18028.8	+691.6	+4.0	19811.6	14485.4	0.8
Hong Kong	9855.8	+175.1	+1.8	10032.9	6967.9	3.3
Frankfurt	2181.7	+85.6	+4.1	2317.0	1911.0	2.0
Paris	1832.1	+89.7	+5.2	2017.3	1721.8	3.7
Milan	9336.0	+125.0	+1.4	10911.0	8912.0	2.7

### MAIN PRICE CHANGES

Index	Rises - Top 5	Falls - Top 5	
FTSE 350 companies			
Rises - Top 5	Price(£) Week's Chg(£) %Chg	Price(£) Week's Chg(£) %Chg	
Refuge Group	433 31 7.7	Baird (William)	192 26 11.9
Pilkington	197.5 13 7.1	Kwik Save	600 70 11.6
Lucas Moles	198 13 7.0	Bryant Group	935 95 9.2
Imesco	2515 16.5 7.0	Iceland Group	153 14 8.4
Rugby Group	113 7 6.6	Kalon Group	112 10 8.2





GAVYN DAVIES

'Several factors have tipped the argument on base rates in the optimists' favour, at least for a while'

## Four reasons why base rates could be cut

I somewhat surprised myself last week by agreeing with the majority of my colleagues at the Treasury Forecasting Panel that some easing in monetary policy might be desirable in the next few months. This change of view came both from recent evidence about inflation pressures in the economy, and also from being persuaded by some of the arguments advanced by Patrick Minford and Tim Congdon at the Panel meetings.

More of that later, but first what future is there for the Panel itself? By the end of this year, the original seven members will be down to three, partly because of the rotation system of enforced retirements, and partly because of career changes. The Chancellor will shortly need to make some new appointments to take the Panel through the election, or else wrap up the institution altogether.

Ever since the press first dubbed us the "wise men", there has been a strong undercurrent of derision from some quarters. The *Guardian* established an alternative Panel consisting solely of women. This was presumably to make a point about sexism, which I thought wholly valid, but sadly, like most gimmicks, it sank without trace. Others seemed more affronted by the "wise", and desperate to prove they had not read the Panel's terms of reference, told us to stick to forecasting, and leave policy advice to others.

Meanwhile, the Panel did not get off to a good start, with attention being drawn to a public dogfight between members on the rather obscure topic of the nature of the "LM" curve in Keynesian economics. Not surprisingly, when Ken Clarke arrived, he seemed unconvinced that this sort of thing was a good use of public money. (Actually, the cost is de minimis, other than the considerable use of senior officials' time in meetings and drafting.) Ever since, the Panel's future has seemed somewhat uncertain.

Drafting sessions when reports are being

prepared can be as painful as pulling teeth, and this often shows in the finished product. Some of the early reports were little more than six or seven disparate views stitched together. But the 1995 reports have seen an improvement. The two special topics discussed this year – European Monetary Union and the framework of domestic monetary policy – have not produced unanimous reports, but at least they attempted to confront the main areas of disagreement among economists on crucial questions. As far as I am aware, the Panel is the only forum in this country where economists of different persuasions are forced to try to reconcile differing approaches, rather than throwing darts at each other across an unbridged intellectual divide.

This year's reports have produced clear majority recommendations on a series of important issues. Four out of six members recommended against UK membership of EMU in its current form. The same number recommended that the Bank of England should be given autonomy in setting interest rates, within the constraints of the inflation objective set by the Government. Five out of six opposed cuts in income tax in the Budget. And all six said that interest rates

should come down if the fiscal stance is left broadly unchanged after the Chancellor's November package. If not full unanimity, then certainly not the undisciplined cacophony of which the Panel is often accused.

This brings us back to monetary policy and inflation. Patrick Minford and, to a lesser extent, Tim Congdon have been arguing throughout the life of the Panel that inflation would remain very subdued for several more years. Though both are seen as "monetarists", and both believe that disinflationary forces are in the ascendant at present, there are crucial differences between them.

The Minford view is that the Thatcherite supply side reforms of the past 15 years have greatly increased the output potential of the economy, and there is chronic underemployment in the labour market. He therefore calls for large cuts in taxes and base rates to take advantage of these supply side gains.

The Congdon view is that there is no real evidence of large supply side gains, but that output is some distance below trend. He is opposed to further fiscal easing, but believes base rates could be reduced without jeopardising the Government's inflation target.

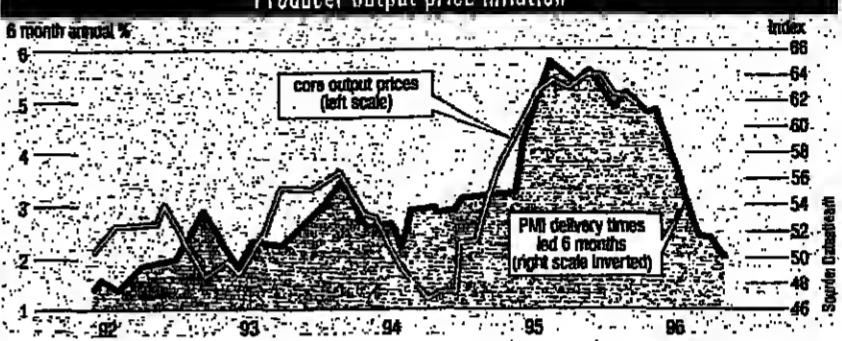
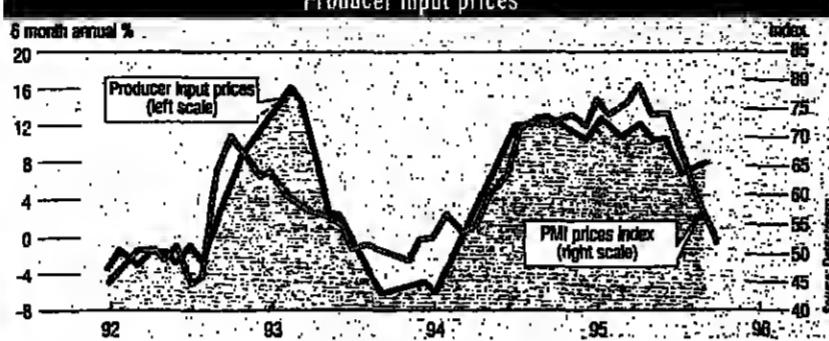
In 1994, a succession of favourable surprises

on the retail prices front seemed to strengthen the optimists' view of the inflation process, even though the recorded inflation rate continues to rise. The graphs show the relationship between producer prices and the purchasing manager's index (PMI), a monthly business survey. The prices component of the PMI dropped from 57.5 in September to 52.5 in October, the lowest reading since November 1993, which would be consistent with an easing in producer input price inflation towards zero in coming months.

Nevertheless, several factors have tipped the argument on base rates in the optimists' favour, at least for a while. First, growth in the economy has slowed in response to last year's monetary tightening. Although this has only pushed GDP growth fractionally below trend so far, the build-up in stocks has reached worrying proportions, and there is a rising possibility of a pause in activity for a couple of quarters as these stocks are shed.

Second, there has been some evidence of improved underlying performance in the labour market. The Goldsmith Sachs wage equation suggests average earnings should now be increasing at an annual rate of about 5 per cent, given the decline in unemployment. In fact, earnings have risen only 3.5 per cent, a difference which might indicate a structural break for the better.

### Producer input prices



Axminster, enthusiasm and the Conservative Party are at the heart of things for the dyslexic who once wanted to be a barrister



Man of many roles: Sir Philip Harris, innovator, ideas man and skilled persuader, at one his many retail outlets  
Photograph: Glynn Griffiths

## Carpet king continues a long roll

Sir Philip Harris is sitting in the boardroom of his company's head office in Rainham, Essex, but finding it difficult to stay still. One minute he is bouncing up to show off a new shop design, the next he is dashing out to ask his secretary for photographs.

"What do you think of this design then?" See what we've done with these signs. We've really perked them up with a hit of yellow ... mmm," he adds, agreeing with himself.

He talks quickly with the enthusiasm of the born salesman and is in bouncy form. His carpet business is on a roll and so too, he believes, is his other great love – the Conservative Party, for which he is a key fundraiser.

Carpets first. As the Axminster king of Britain, Sir Philip had already made one carpeting fortune when he secured £70m from the sale of Harris Queensway in 1988. Now 53, he is doing it all again with Carpetright, a rapidly expanding carpet group whose low prices and high volumes have helped it snatch a 14 per cent share of the UK carpet market.

He is now rolling out a new larger formal Carpet Depot with which he hopes to build the group's share to 20 per cent.

As for the Conservatives, Sir Philip has been enthused by the Tory Party conference and the recent dinner at Claridges to celebrate the 70th birthday of Baroness Thatcher, who awarded him his knighthood in 1985. He has continued his top-level connections. John Major and his wife, Norma, were guests at his villa in the south of France over the summer.

He says: "The economy is improving all the time. Unemployment is coming down and we have a government that is listening. I think the 5,000 more

policeman on the beat is very exciting."

Earlier this year he was taking £5 bets that the Tories would win the next election. "I'd double that now," he says. As deputy chairman of the party's treasury committee he is helping to build a £22m funding fund at Central Office for the next election. The party's troublesome overdraft is down to less than £10m, he says.

A skilled persuader, Sir Philip was thought to have been instrumental in securing a £4.5m interest-free loan from Graham Kirkham, the wealthy head of DFS furniture, last year. Mr Kirkham last month raised £74m from the sale of shares in the company. He can expect another call from Sir Philip soon.

If he finds the time, that is. Sir Philip and his tight-knit management team have spent the past few months working on the Carpet Depot format which will be expanded aggressively.

Carpet Depot is a huge, warehouse-style store that stocks carpets starting at prices as low as £11.99 a square yard and up to around £50. This is upmarket territory not yet explored by Carpetright.

"What do you think?" he inquires, holding up an artist's impression of the new design, complete with day-glo orange shop front. "Good, isn't it? I think it's one of the best ideas I've had."

The first outlet opened in the Thurrock retail park in Essex in September and a further two have already been added. There will be eight by next year and 70 within four years. "It's going to take the department stores like John Lewis head on."

Formed in 1988 and floated

on the stock market two years ago, Carpetright has already established a chain of more than 200 outlets and consistently hucked the sluggish retail trend with spectacular profits growth and a £20m cash pile.

"I spent six months looking at Europe but decided against it. France looked too tough and Germany was difficult to get into. So I've decided to concentrate on Britain."

"Everyone said Carpetright would run out of steam two years after we floated, but I think we're just about to gather

But the Carpetright format is different and if we didn't do it someone else would."

He has a reputation as a tough employer. Under-performers are weeded out quickly. Loyal henchmen stay for years. John Kitching, Carpetright's sales director, joined Sir Philip for a summer more than 20 years ago and has stayed.

He says: "His enthusiasm is infectious. That's what motivates people. If things go wrong he can be ruthless, but he's not one of those people who throw their weight about for the sake of it."

Aside from carpets and Conservatives

Sir Philip's main hobby is show-jumping. He owns four top horses trained by David Broome and ridden by Michael Whitaker. Though privately owned rather than corporately sponsored, most have carpeting overtones such as *Midnight Madness*, the name of the Carpetright stable.

"I do a bit of riding but I haven't done any this year be-

cause I've been so busy. My real aim is for one of the horses to win an Olympic gold medal."

Few would deny him such expensive hobbies. Born in Streatham, south London, he left school at 15 to take over the family's three carpet shops after his father died. "I wanted to be a barrister, but I'm dyslexic so that wasn't possible. But I have no regrets."

He gradually expanded the chain through the 1960s and 1970s aided by the rise in home ownership and rising living standards. In 1977 he took over the Queensway furniture chain and in 1983 was named Hamptons Businessman of the Year.

In 1988 when the business had expanded to include the Hamptons toy shops it was acquired by the doomed Lowndes Queensway buy-in.

Sir Philip denies that he is motivated by an ambition to make Carpetright bigger than Harris Queensway and prove wrong those in the City who question his record. But those close to him say he has a desire to prove he can do it all again.

Nigel Cope

As the Italian scandal season gets into its stride, a spiralling budget deficit is forcing a sharp change in what is acceptable

## A sick economy shakes out the fake invalids

It is scandal season in Italy again. In the past month, a Rome investigating magistrate has discovered that as many as 50,000 "fake invalids" are collecting disability benefits through cushy jobs in the public sector, particularly in the post office. And several thousand officers in the armed forces have confessed they have been systematically inflating their expense claims and accepting bribes to exempt the children of friends from national service.

The university system, too, is under investigation as evidence emerges of competitive exams for tenured professorships being rigged, and state money being wasted on faculties that provide plentiful jobs but are of negligible educational value.

At first sight, such reports seem no more than chaotic Italian business as usual. After all, anyone who knows the country is aware that such scams have been going on for years. But the fact that they are coming to light now is more than mere coincidence. These scandals bear witness to a tough fact of Italian life: that endemic corruption is a luxury the country can no longer afford.

Everyone knows Italy's public finances are hopelessly in-

debited. The state has been running a budget deficit for so long that overall public debt represents more than 130 per cent of GDP. Worse still, investor confidence in Italy is so shaky that the Treasury is forced to service nearly two-thirds of this debt through short-term bonds. It is a perilous exercise, since the government is having to repay investors faster than it can afford to and has no alternative but to issue yet more short-term bonds to cover its shortfall.

The bribes companies were expected to pay were too expensive

This is clearly an untenable situation, which explains the single-mindedness of the Prime Minister, Lamberto Dini, in bringing the deficit rapidly under control. In April he made an initial £20.000bn (£809m) worth of cuts through tax increases and reductions in public spending. Two months later he finalised a reform of the bloated pensions system, which had been eating up a staggering 20 per cent of GDP. His pre-

occupation now is to get parliament to approve the 1996 budget with its £32.500bn in further savings before his non-political administration falls victim to inter-party squabbling.

But the budget is not the only issue. Italy is being forced to confront every area of public life and re-examine the extravagant habits of the past. The process started three years ago, when the "clean hands" team of magistrates in Milan brought down an entire generation of politicians with their anti-corruption investigations.

Sweeping away the old order was not prompted by any great rethinking of ethical standards in public life; the bribes large companies were expected to pay were too expensive. With Italy hitting a recession along with the rest of Europe, it was no longer reasonable to pay as much as 60 per cent of a contract's value in kick-backs. The only recourse was to dismantle the bloated pensions system, which had been eating up a staggering 20 per cent of GDP. His pre-

culture of arts administration in Italy. So cushioned have they been for so long, they do not understand why the state is no longer prepared to plunge billions of lire into opera each year and get back less than a tenth of its investment.

The changing mentality is beginning to have an effect on the economic big league. Two months ago Gianni Agnelli, chairman of Fiat, and the head of the Milanese merchant bank Mediobanca, Enrico Cuccia,

accounts in the Far East. Now, after a period of high instability, it is institutions beyond the strict sphere of politics that are under attack. The investigation into the fake invalids at the post office, for example, was partly motivated by the urgent need to modernise a notoriously wasteful and inefficient public service. Political sources suggest that the magistrates may have been tipped off by post office managers looking for a way to bypass the powerful trade unions and cut as much as a quarter of the 200,000-strong workforce.

The need to eradicate waste and privilege is causing consternation in many areas of Italian life. Workers at La Scala opera house in Milan, for example, are threatening to call off the opening night of the new season because they see the management's attempts to cut costs as an attack not just on their lifestyles, but on the very

holders. A decade ago, they would have got away with it because they were powerful enough to block all opposition. But times have changed.

Within a few weeks, magistrates and tax inspectors were crawling all over Gemina after discovering an £800m hole in the books of the company's publishing subsidiary, Rizzoli, and the merger deal was called off. This week Mediobanca received another slap in the face after it bought more than 10 per cent of the shares in Montedison-Ferruzzi's holding company on the sly. The Milan bourse regulator took everyone by surprise by forcing Mediobanca to make a formal takeover offer and buy 10.8 per cent more of its shares on the open market.

Italy's revolution is far from complete. It still has no stable political structure, and its economy is crying out for proper regulation. But these recent episodes suggest a start is being made. Penury may not be the noblest reason for cleaning up public life, but as long as the drive to improve public finances persists, it seems there is a real chance of bringing about lasting change.

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INSTRUMENTS FOR PROFESSIONALS

Andrew Gumbel

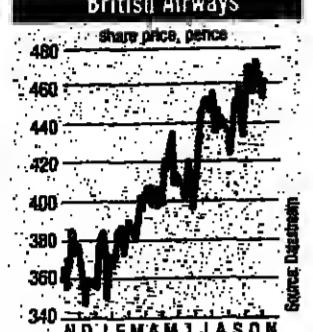
JPMolloy

## TODAY

**Companies**  
A busy fortnight for company results kicks off with interim figures from British Airways, expected to show a half-time profits of £425m, up a fifth. **Finals:** Fleming Chinese Inv, Lynx Holdings, Stratagem Group.

**Interims:** Associated British Foods, Blacks Leisure, British Airways, Business Post Group, Johnsons Fry Sec Utilities, Prowling, Safefland, Setco.

**British Airways**



Healthcare, Whitecroft, Voyeur European Smaller. Annual meetings: Goodwin.

## THE WEEK AHEAD

**Economics**

Figures for industrial output are expected to show a modest increase in September. Manufacturing production is likely to have been flat or risen only slightly—in line with recent survey evidence—but the recovery in the oil sector should have continued, boosting the total. Statistics: index of production (Sep), cyclical indicators of the UK economy (Oct).

**TOMORROW**

**Companies** Profit before tax of almost £400m from Marks & Spencer, up a tenth, will provide the customary reassuring message after the recent jitters on the high street. Questions regarding sales growth and the returns from new space are also likely to be raised, however. In July, the company confirmed trading remained difficult and said the weather was unhelpful.

**Finals:** Allied Domecq, Anglian Water, Broadgate Inv Trust, Mercury Keystone Computing, Saraceo Value Trust, MMT Computing, Scottish National Trust, UPF Group, WEF Group.

**Interims:** Amersham International, Bath Press Group, Boustead, British Petroleum (Q3), British Sky Broadcasting (Q1), Capital Gearing Trust, Hartlepool Water, London Insurance Market, Marks & Spencer, Mercury Asset Management, Montanaro UK Smaller, National Power, Powerset International, Saraceo.

**Economics** Advance energy data (Oct).

**WEDNESDAY**

**Companies** BAT is expected to have done relatively well in a US tobacco market which has seen flagging volumes but resilient

margins. Financial services will benefit from a smoothed return at Eagle Star.

Overall pre-tax profits are forecast by NatWest Securities to improve 22 per cent to £1.76bn in the nine months to September.

**Finals:** Gartmore European, Hambro Insurance Service, Lowland Inv, Lyons Irish Holdings.

**Interims:** BAT Industries (Q3), Electrocomponents, First Ireland Inv Co, Fleming Far Eastern, German Investment Trust, Throntons, FW Thorpe, TNT EGMS: Throntons.

putting interest rate policy into the spotlight.

The Bank is expected to express less concern about inflationary pressures than it did in its August report because of the accumulated evidence that growth has slowed. However, it would be a surprise if it completely retreated from its advice that the Government will not meet its inflation target without an eventual increase in base rates.

The most recent speeches on the economy by Eddie George, Governor of the Bank, and Mervyn King, its chief economist, said the balance of evidence still pointed to higher rates.

**Statistics:** Index of production for Scotland (Q2), Welsh Agricultural Statistics No 17 (1995), CBI/BSI regional trends survey (Oct), Bank of England inflation report (Nov), Bank of England quarterly bulletin (Q3).

**Companies** Second-quarter and interim results will provide further evidence of the pressures on BT's core business. All eyes will be on the dividend, where the market is looking for fresh guidance on future growth rates. Pre-tax profits of about £1.62bn will be about 9 per cent

ahead of last year's first half. **Finals:** Asset Management Investment Co, Bett Brothers, Burton Group, Orb Estates, Willis Corroon (Q4), Villiers Group.

**Interims:** Appleby Westward, British Telecom (Q2), Cedar Data, Cedral European, B Elliott, First Ireland Inv (and), Northumbrian Water Group, Porter Chadburn, Regalian Properties, Royal Insurance Holdings (Q3), Staveley Industries, Umeco, Warner Howard.

**Annual meetings:** Everest Foods, Throgmorton Dual Trust, Throgmorton 1,000 Trust, Tor IT, Trafford Park Estates, Watersman Partnership, Zambia Copper.

distribution of earnings and hours; analyses of earnings and hours for part-time women and employees, labour market trends, travel trends.

## FRIDAY

**Companies** After the disappointments of the first half, third-quarter figures from Unilever will have benefited from the company's strong position in ice-cream. This might allow for upgrades to full-year profits. For the first nine months, profits of £786m, up 9 per cent, are expected.

**Finals:** J Bibby & Sons.

**Interims:** Banner Homes, Investment Co, Quadrant Group, Somic, Unilever.

## Economics

Today brings the key overseas statistic, US producer prices for October. Most analysts expect them to have been eerily flat. **Statistics:** New Earnings Survey Part E: 1995, analyses by region and by age group. New Earnings Survey Part F: 1995. Distribution of hours; joint

signs of improvement.

A GOOD

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## BANKS, RETAIL

## BREWERS

## BREWERIES

## CATERING

## CHIPS

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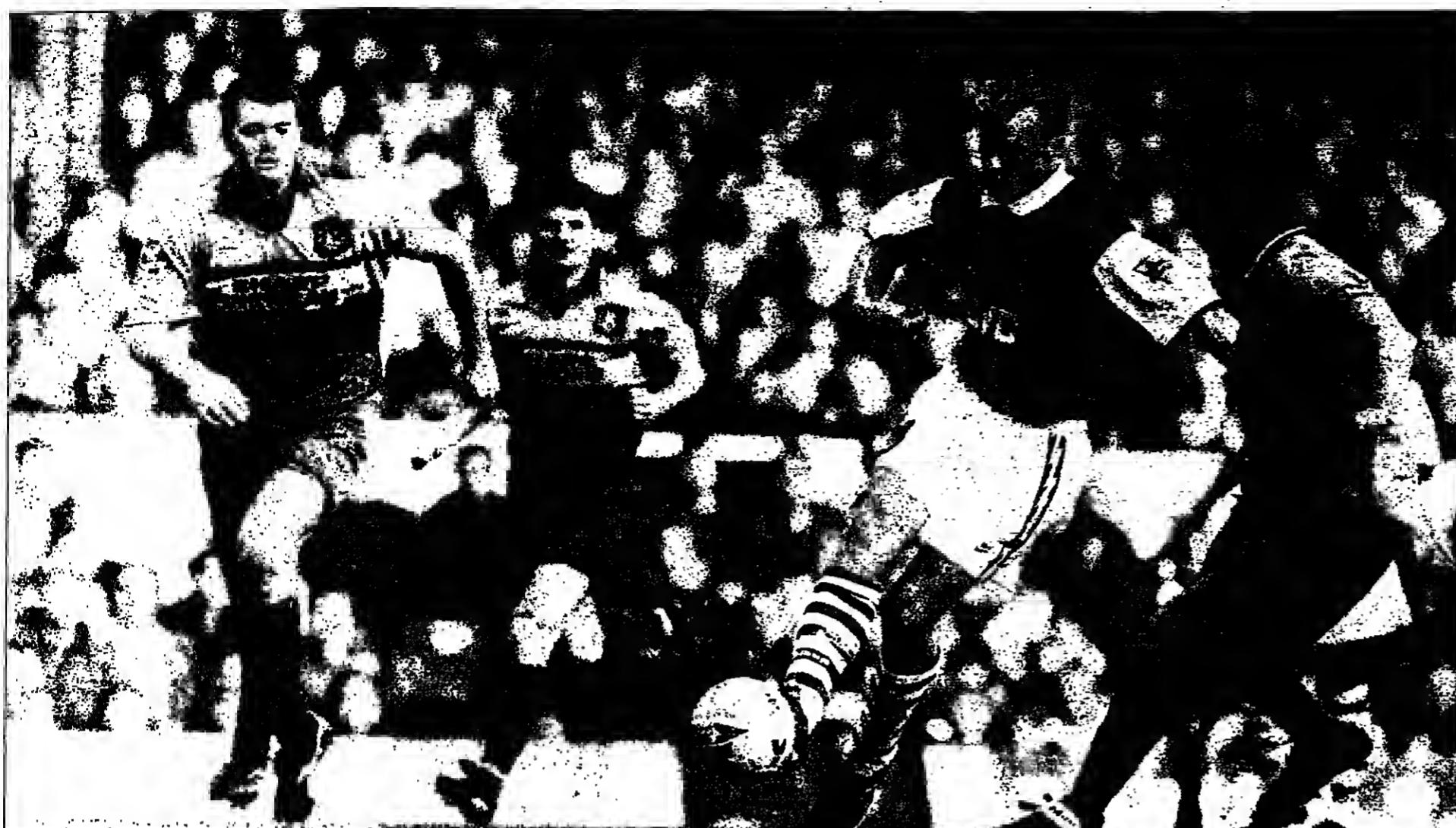






# sport

**FOOTBALL:** Rioch's team have discovered their own formula for success but Graham's basic philosophy still holds good



Dutch treat: Dennis Bergkamp wends his way between United defenders Gary Pallister and Steve Bruce to the delight of the Highbury crowd

Photograph: Robert Hallam

## Bergkamp rallies the working class

"Good players, working hard." That, said George Graham admiringly, is the secret of football success. That comment, made after Arsenal's defeat by Milan in the Super Cup last spring, came to mind during his former club's match with Manchester United on Saturday.

With an hour gone, and United gradually taking control, Denis Irwin drove into the Arsenal penalty area. There to make the tackle, and come away with the ball, was Dennis Bergkamp, 27.5m of thoroughbred striker, tracking back like a workhorse.

At other times, the crucial intervention came from Glenn Helder. A winger whose first appearances at Highbury suggested he thought his contract had a clause that precluded defending, Graham may be gone from Highbury, but his work ethic is alive and well.

However, this should not be taken to mean that Arsenal are all drudge and no dazzle. The difference between Graham's

Arsenal and Bruce Rioch's is in what they do when they have the ball. The first impulse is no longer to look for Ian Wright and hoof it into space ahead of him, it is to find a red shirt within 20 yards and pass to its owner's feet. This is radical stuff at Highbury, and the supporters love it. In the first half there were several sweeping one-touch moves whose fluency had United chasing shadows.

At the hub of many of these was Bergkamp, who often formed the link between Wright, Paul Merson and Helder. Arsenal, according to Graham this week, paid over the odds for Bergkamp. Maybe, but you would not have found many subscribing to that view at Highbury on Saturday. Quite a few were happily paying over the odds for him themselves – large posters of the Dutchman were selling well at £2 outside.

The comparison between Bergkamp and the other £7m striker, Andy Cole, was instructive. While Cole is much more of an all-round player than

GLENN MOORE  
COMMENTARY

he was at Newcastle, his touch is not as precise as Bergkamp's and his awareness is less acute. While the Dutchman was spraying perfectly weighted crossfield passes around Highbury, too many of Cole's were hit too heavily, inaccurately, or obviously. He also failed where it counts, in front of goal, missing one particularly good opportunity just before the hour after slick passes by Eric Cantona and Roy Keane had put him clear.

But Bergkamp should really be compared with Cantona, not Cole. The Frenchman had a quiet

game, but his eye for a pass stood out, especially one 38th-minute ball to Cole that wrong-footed both the Arsenal defence and 34,000 spectators, most of whom were expecting him to score the ball wide. It was, however, fractionally underhit and Tony Adams was able to block as Cole delayed his shot.

Cantona also missed a late chance to equalise, beautifully put through by Cole who was surprisingly let down by his touch and the commanding David Seaman was able to save.

That left Bergkamp as the only scorer. His seventh Arsenal goal came after he dispensed with the hesitant Irwin before beating Schmeichel with an immaculate finish 15 minutes into the game. Away from the restrictions of the lone role he was given at Internazionale, he looks much happier. His partnership with Wright still has room for improvement, but judging by the success it is already having, that will be a source of pleasure, not frustration, for Rioch.

Hughes and John Jensen were not among the assembly and Keane, in his last game before his latest suspension, was on his best behaviour. But it was also a question of attitude. Both managers desire positive football – it is noticeable that all United's "difficult" players in recent seasons have been imported – their kids compete without the excesses.

That there was only one goal was due to the excellence of the goalkeepers – Peter Schmeichel made a particularly fine save from a diving header by Wright – and some magnificent second-half defending by Arsenal. "They had all the luck," said a disappointed Alex Ferguson. A debatable point, but even if it was true, Arsenal had earned it.

Goal: Bergkamp (1). Scoring: Dixon, Adams, Seaman; David, Winterburn, Merson, Paul, Keane, Wright, Cole, Cantona, Houghton, Irwin. Substitutes not used: Jensen, Smith, Schmeichel (1). Liverpool 15-21: James, R. Jones, Wright, Scales, Babu, Harnden, McManaman, Redknapp, Barnes, Hugh Symonds (74), Fowler. Substitutes not used: McIntosh, Warner (84). Referee: M. Reed (Birmingham).

## Liverpool let down by their basic failings

GUY HODGSON

Newcastle United 1  
Liverpool 2

You can imagine a Liverpool player's bonfire party. The potatoes are roasting in the oven, the wood is piled high and the most expensive fireworks money can buy are primed. Perfect, except for one thing. He has forgotten to get the matches.

It is the basics that hafte

men in red at the moment. Like

scoring goals. Give them a sticky

spot in defence and they will pass

their way out of trouble like aristocrats dismissing their flunkies.

But try to show that *savoir-faire*

in the opposition area and they

fail. Brondby, Newcastle – both

were tales of waste.

Elegant, even beautiful to watch at times, they forgot last week how to turn overwhelming superiority into the most important commodity, which is extraordinary given the quality of the strikers, they have at their disposal. Robbie Fowler could have had a hat-trick at St James' Park, Ian Rush might have added another to his 11th-minute goal, and Jamie Redknapp and Steve McManaman had efforts brilliantly saved.

In fact, this was an extraordinary match all round. Newcastle were out-tackled, out-passed and out-thought, but still managed to stretch their lead in the Premiership to five points. It was like a cameo of the season, the home team created four chances and scored twice, while Liverpool carved out unmet and managed only one goal. When the Tammy sprang to life with Tina Turner's "Simply The Best" at the final whistle, the audacity took the breath away.

"They gave us a lesson," Kevin Keegan, the Newcastle manager, said. "Liverpool passed it like only one team can in the world and we found it difficult. But credit to my players, they never let their heads go down and we pinched a result."

"It's very easy to be jacked the lad when it's going well. A lot of my players struggled, yet we still came out on top. When we played Blackburn last year, we hammered them but still lost 1-0 and they ended up winning the championship. Sometimes you have to grind out results."

Newcastle struggled to an exit

where their championship

TODAY'S NUMBER  
**4,800**

The size in square feet (60% by 80%) of the giant Middlesbrough shirt, oversewn with the message "Welcome Juninho", which was flown by helicopter over the Riverside stadium to mark the Brazilian's debut on Saturday.

DAVE HADFIELD

Coventry City 2  
Tottenham Hotspur 3

At Coventry, you can buy Big Ron mugs and Big Ron T-shirts. It is that merchandise, rather than generic club souvenirs, that the Highfield Road scoreboard advertises. You can even call Big Ron on an 0891 number, although on Saturday's evidence, you could be in for a rather terse conversation.

Although the personality cult is still alive and well, the personality itself is showing the strain. Atkinson has ridden out any number of crises with a quick one-liner and a flash of teeth and gold jewellery, but he has surely never resembled his

namesake, the tight-lipped, ash-faced Neasden manager, Ron Kne, as closely as he did after this defeat.

Coventry have been in worse positions than this later in the season, but the prospect of entering the club's annals as the man who took them down after all manner of unlikely characters had kept them up over the past 20 odd years is siphoning away the familiar bonhomie.

If a tight-lipped, ash-faced man can also be incandescent, then Atkinson was. "We've thrown it away with defending that was nothing short of scandalous," he scowled, following up with heavy hints that heads would roll and that new faces would be brought in.

The nearest thing to a wise-crack was telling a radio

reporter to "mind your own business" over what he said to his side at half-time.

Gerry Francis, although several shades less ash than his counterpart, was less impressed with their defensive work. Their lack of assurance at the back brought Coventry a second goal and gave them the prospect of snatching an equaliser until the very end.

May that would have put a faint smile on Big Ron's mug, even if one of City's grimmer hatsties still lies ahead.

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the side is thoroughly dangerous going forward.

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JON CULLEY

Manchester City 1  
Bolton Wanderers 0

Let us keep this in perspective. Next May, this result may well represent no more than a plumb on the falling graph of City's season. At least, that is how the red half of Manchester will console themselves after a rare Saturday of exclusively blue celebrations.

But you cannot blame the Maine Road crowd, staff and fans alike, for a little bit of optimism. Only in the makes-no-sense world of football could more than 38,000 people turn up to watch a team with two points from 11 games take on another with five straight away

defeats, but then again, the chance that there would be something to cheer about at last was probably too much to resist.

So they whooped it up. "I'm pleased," Alan Ball said – understatement was clearly the manager's theme for the day. "I want to win to ease some of the pressure which is beginning to build up on us," he wrote in his programme notes. Beginning to build up?

Only Francis Lee, the hirer and firer, knows how much pressure Ball is under. Given that he stood by Brian Horton longer than anyone expected, it is probable that the chairman will, for the moment, remain loyal to Ball. November is not a kind month for managers in trouble, and the two-week break between this Premiership round

and the next lends itself ideally to boardroom stock-taking.

But if it is tough at present to be Alan Ball, it cannot be much easier to be Nicky Summerbee, who has suffered more than most during City's decline. The 24-year-old winger so resembles his famous father that since the moment he arrived expensively from Swindon 16 months ago, he has been ex-pat somehow to turn back the clock to the 1960s.

In September, Ball dropped him "for his own good" and Saturday's decisive goal, therefore,

is a mark of personal triumph. His confidence had drained away, Ball said, but there was a need, also, to apply some heat to hockside.

Indeed, there was no hint of frail confidence at all in the way

the goal was scored, from the ball juggling by Niall Quinn that launched it, through George Kinkladze's expertly delivered pass to Summerbee's cracking finish from a yard inside the penalty area.

Had Bolton, without a point away from home, not been so lacking in purpose in the first half, they might have taken three here. In the second half, chastised and reorganised with a striker removed and five in midfield, they looked the better side.

Goal: Summerbee (11). 1-0.

Referee: G. E. Gray (2). Substitutes not used: Peter Grealish, Alan Shearer, Colin Biggs, Summerbee, Lomas, Michael Brown, Tomasz Radzinski, Robbie Quinn. Substitutes not used: Marjason (6).

Attendance: 34,000. 1-0. Tottenham Hotspur 2-1. Birmingham City 1-0. Middlesbrough 1-0. Nottingham Forest 2-1. Sheffield Wednesday 2-1. Sunderland 2-1. West Ham United 2-1. Newcastle United 1-0. Liverpool 1-0. Aston Villa 1-0. Referee: R. Hart (Darlington).

Just as John Major has tacitly supported the nuclear antics of Jacques Chirac, so that footballing gentelman, sometime national captain and fast-food PR man, David Platt, offers the hand of detente to a misunderstood Frenchman who has a tendency to reach critical mass himself.

The Sunday Mirror, however, reckons the striker about to leave Ewood is not Shire, but Tottemham and Arsenal and Manchester United watching.

Brian Deane could go from Leeds to Aston Villa, according to the Mail on Sunday, though Brian Little's ham fenton's sale to Blackburn going ahead after a hitch over the young midfielder's medical.

Oscar Ardiles, the former Spurs manager dismissed by Mexican side Guadalajara, is back in Britain with ambitions to run his own club, according to the Sunday Express, which puts forward

Sunderland, managed by his former

Spurs team-mate, Ray Clemence, as a possible target.

Turn back the clock

"His reign as manager was described in the city yesterday as being 'on a knife edge'. There were rumours yesterday that one of Scotland's leading clubs are standing by should he leave." – Derek Hodgson, the Independent, 28 December 1989

"His transfer policy has been a disaster, his team selected has often made little sense and results, given the greatness of the club, have been abysmal. Today his job

literally hangs in the balance." – Brian Glanville, the Sunday Times, 7 January 1990

"He takes his side into tomorrow's tie at Hereford knowing that his tenure will probably go the way of Government's Football Spectator Bill, should the League's 80th plough team prove victorious." – Phil Shaw, the Independent, 27 January 1990

About whom were the words written? Why, Alex Ferguson, whose

as St Andrews, ought to know better than to indulge in his habitually excessive touchline celebrations when his side score.

Saturday's ugly scenes after the Millwall game could hardly be blamed on him, but his contribution cannot have helped.

Red card

BARRY FRY

... the Birmingham City manager

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celebrations when his side score.

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Arrivederci Silenzi?

Here's a story no one in Nottingham believes

– that the Forest team's Christmas party will see Andrea Silenzi among the guests.

On the basis that the first Italian to leave Serie A for the Premier League did not come to keep the bench warm, City Ground fans suspect that the £1.8m ex-Torino striker will not stand much longer for playing understeer to £200,000 Southend export Jason Lee.

Forest play Wimborne tonight after renewed specula-

tion over Silenzi's future, namely that the seven-

day Italian transfer "window", currently open, will allow

understeer to £200,000 Southend export Jason Lee.

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# Juninho's spark lights Boro's fire

**Phil Shaw** finds the Brazilian is more than capable of carrying the weight of Middlesbrough's expectations of him

Middlesbrough  
Leeds United

1  
1

The artist formerly known as Oswaldo Girola Jnr jetted out to join the Brazilian squad in Buenos Aires yesterday, leaving Middlesbrough to reflect on a debut which if not exactly princely, contained some massively promising purple patches.

With his boyish face and slender physique, Juninho looks as if he might find a paper-round too taxing. As the Riverside Stadium rose to greet him, one feared his shoulders might not be broad enough to bear the burden of expectation. Some 8,000 extra season-tickets had been sold, not to mention so many yellow-and-green shirts and flags that a royalty on each would have slashed Brazil's national debt.

Any doubts were dispelled during the first half, as a blow-torch in red and white became the definitive symbol of the pace of change under Bryan Robson's regime. Swift and selfless, instinctive and incisive, Juninho created an early goal for Jan Age Fjortoft with a slide-rule pass and so bemused Leeds with his sprints that two players were booked for tripping him.

The fact that Juninho will not play competitively again until 18 November is a mixed blessing. Robson can use the interim to integrate him into the squad and the region (it may be a dis-

as engaging with the midfield heavyweights like a scrum-half suddenly taking on a pack of props.

As introductions to English football go, it was more influential than, say, Eric Cantona's or Dennis Bergkamp's. However, one of the clichés with which Juninho will become acquainted is "game of two halves". After an equaliser against the run of play by Brian Deane, "the Little One" tired rapidly and Leeds' big ones totally dominated the last 35 minutes.

Juninho's second coming, providing he is not too jaded by Wednesday's match against Argentina and the travelling it entails, will be Sunday's visit by Sampdoria for the official opening of the ground. Until then, there's much to savour. Those lynx-eyed enough to see it will relive the moment he nutmegged Carlton Palmer, as well as the Pelé-style dummy he sold to let a pass find Nick Barmby.

A video of the latter incident, in which Juninho kept running for the return pass, should be shown to everyone from the rest of the Premiership to primary-school children. Whereas colleagues were often static when receiving the ball – a conspicuous factor in British Eurofaulures – he was always on the move.

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play competitively again until 18 November is a mixed blessing.

Robson can use the interim to integrate him into the squad and the region (it may be a dis-

appointment to find that Billing-

ham Synthonia do not play samba). Yet by the time Juninho faces Vinnie Jones at Wimbleton, evoking images of the infamous first meeting of Tommy Smith and Ossie Ardiles, he will have had one "proper" match in five weeks.

However, long he stays,

Juninho may never fathom the ways and words of Howard Wilkinson. Asked his view of Middlesbrough's No 25, the Leeds manager let out a long sigh before giving a grudging endorsement. It ended thus: "He can control and pass, he's got a quick mind... he's small, he's Brazilian."

Wilkinson may have been preoccupied with thoughts of Leeds, who always appear two or three players short of being able to sustain a challenge. Tony Yeboah in particular is crying out for support and service. Still awesome in full flight, he also set up the goal with a brave challenge, although there

were moments during his eighth successive goalless game when the Ghanaian must have wondered what he had let himself in for.

Therein lies a lesson for Middlesbrough. Enticing the world champions' player of the year from São Paulo was the easy part. Down by the Riverside, the

challenge will be to ensure that Juninho does not come to feel like a fish out of the Tees.

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Photograph: David Ashdown

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